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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ALBRIGHT, W. F. The Administrative Divisions of Israel and Judah . . .	17
BEN ZVI, J. Historical Survey of the Jewish Settlement in Kefar-Yasif .	204
CANAAN, T. Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine (2) . . .	163
ELIASH, M. The Cuthites and Psalm 74 . . . . .	55
JAUSSEN, Le Rév. Père J. A. Inscription arabe du sanctuaire de <i>Sitt</i> <i>Sulaymiyah</i> , au mont Ebal, à Naplouse . . . . .	75
MALLON, Le Rév. Père ALEXIS. Les Hyksos et les Hébreux . . . . .	85
MARGOLIS, MAX L. Presidential Address . . . . .	61
MAYER, L. A. Le Blason de l'Amîr Salâr . . . . .	58
— Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza. II. . . . .	64
STEPHAN, STEPHAN H. Lunacy in Palestine Folklore . . . . .	1
— Animals in Palestinian Folklore . . . . .	92
[Arabic Supplement . . . . .	1—72]
TOLKOWSKY, S. "Gideon's 300" . . . . .	69
— New Light on the History of Jaffa . . . . .	82
<hr/>	
Book Reviews . . . . .	218
<hr/>	
Treasurer's Report for Year Ending, Dec. 31 <sup>st</sup> , 1924 . . . . .	162
Members of the Palestine Oriental Society . . . . .	223





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## LUNACY IN PALESTINIAN FOLKLORE

STEPHAN H. STEPHAN

(JERUSALEM)

IT seems rather difficult to give an exact definition of lunacy since, as the proverb says, there are many ways in which it may manifest itself. Anything eccentric, out of the way, contrary to custom, may fall under this head though it may be everything but lunacy proper, e.g., walking alone in the moonlight, talking loudly to oneself, "thinking" aloud, laughing to oneself without an obvious reason, and similar unconsciously performed habits. The Arabic term *yjnûn* (جنون)<sup>1</sup> applies to a state of mind in which a person is possessed by *jinn*. The category of lunatics *majânîn* (plural of *majnûn*)<sup>2</sup> comprises in our opinion the Roman division into *furiosi*, *dementes* and *mente capti*. Although the grades of derangement of intellect differ obviously, yet they are assigned to the same category.

The Bible relates some cases of derangement of mind. King Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel 4 33) and Saul (1 Samuel 19 24) we would classify as lunatics. The latter "stripped off his clothes . . . and lay down naked all that day and all that night"<sup>3</sup> and an evil spirit troubled him<sup>4</sup> (1 Sam. 17 14). The Gospels thus describe the "possessed" one: He wore no clothes, neither abode in a house (Luke 8 27) but had his dwelling among the tombs (Mark 5 3). Although he had been

<sup>1</sup> *yjnûn* is denominated from *jinn*, spirits (angels and devils) also "something hidden from the eye, unconceivable, yet believed to be existent" (*Muḥīt il-Muḥīt*).

<sup>2</sup> *majnûn* like *maskûn* in the case of a house inhabited by a *sakûneh* or *râṣaḍ*, both spirits.

<sup>3</sup> An epileptic is subjects to such fits. Cfr. proverbs 68—70.

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. proverbs 53—54. We may also say about such a person: *yš-šūlân* (*il'yrđ, il'afrit*) *rākbo*, "the devil is riding him," in explanation of some strange, queer action of a usually sane person.



kept bound with chains and fetters, he brake the bands and was driven by the devil into the wilderness (Luke 8 29).<sup>1</sup> He was exceedingly fierce (Matth. 8 28), so that no man might pass that way. This is exactly our present-day view of the lunatic.

A *majnûn* is now the laughing-stock of all. Nobody likes to have anything to do with him. His illness is counted as a crime;<sup>2</sup> nobody cares for him, and he is left to himself and to the grace of God who is expected to help him and heal him, for God has inflicted the madness upon him as a punishment.<sup>3</sup> In this way lunacy is considered as "something divine."<sup>4</sup> But aside from this the lunatic is believed to be inhabited by *jinn*, who manifest themselves through him. In common parlance we use about thirty synonyms for the word *majnûn*, which, although they do not cover the meaning exactly (being sometimes originally intended to convey another idea), yet are used expressly to convey a meaning parallel to "insane, lunatic," etc. They are mostly of the passive forms *maf'ûl* and *mufâ'al*, rarely *mufâlal*.

1. *majnûn* مجنون absolutely mad; possessed; lunatic; being in a fit of passion; being mad with joy or anger; furious.
- yjnûn* جنون (state of) madness; lunacy.
2. *muhbûl* مهبول stupid; silly; fool.
- hâbal* هبل stupidity, silliness, foolishness.
- hâblaneh* هبلنة stupid acts, etc.; nonsense.
- habalôneh* هبلونه fool, simpleton.
3. *maḥwât* منحوت crack-brained.
- ḥâwat* خوت *ḥâuwat* خوت madden, annoy.
- âḥwat* اخوت idiot, crack brained.
- ḥâuteh* خوتة maddening noise, etc.
4. *maš'ûr* مشعور crack-brained (from the same stem as *šâ'ir*, poet).
5. *mar'ûš* مرعوش startled; head trembling from old age.
6. *mansûm* منسوم corrupt of mind.
7. *mahwûs* مهووس crack-brained, over-excited.

<sup>1</sup> People nowadays believe that he roams about in the wilderness, *hîš*, rather than among the graves.

<sup>2</sup> If one may say so, although no one reproaches the idiot for his derangement.

<sup>3</sup> The common belief is that God has taken the mind of the lunatic beforehand. (Artâs.)

<sup>4</sup> *îši rabbânî, aḥkâm rabbânîyyeh* (Bêt-jâlā).



- hâwas* هوس crotchet, monomania, insanity.  
*hâus* هوس idiot, fool.  
 8. *maf'û* مفقوع crack-brained, eccentric.  
 9. *mahlû* مخلوع intoxicated, paralysed.  
 10. *majdûb* مجدوب imbecile, idiot.  
*jâdab* جذب imbecility, idiocy, "furor sanctus" because caused by a "good spirit."  
*jâdbeh* جدبة craziness, madness.  
 11. *maḥbûl* مغبول disordered in brain (by grief or love).  
*ymḥâbbal* مغبّل insane, crack-brained.  
*ḥâbal* حبل madness, unsoundness of mind.  
 12. *mazmû* مزموع bewildered, dazed by fear (or love).  
 13. *maṭwûs* مطووس mad.  
 14. *maṭwûḥ* مطووح mad.  
 15. *ymwâhhib* موهب remaining under the influence of the *jinn* coming within their reach.  
 16. *ymwâhhyt* موهت crazy, without brains.  
 17. *ymsârsab* مسرّسب *mysârsyb* متسرّسب over-excited by love, fear or grief.  
*syrsâb* سرّساب "touch."  
 18. *ymşârša'* مصرّص epileptic, insane. *şâr'* مصرع epilepsy.  
*maşrû'* مصروع do. *kalb maşrû'* كلب مصروع mad dog.  
 19. *ymtârta'* مطرّطع *ṭartû'* طرطوع stupid, fool.  
 20. *ymnâ"yḏ* منقّض with disordered brain.  
 21. *ymnâff'yḏ* منغّض having dusted (his brains and thus lost them).  
 22. *ymḥâllys* مخلص finished (having no more brains).  
 23. *ymkâmmyl* مكمل completed (having no more brains).  
 24. *ymḏârwyš* مدرّوش being like a dervish, careless, absent minded.  
 25. *ymḥârbyṭ* مخربط delirious.  
 26. *hâtâleh* هتيلة idiot.  
*hâtaleh* هتلة imbecile.  
 27. *ymtârmah* مطرمخ crack-brained.  
 28. *ym'âr'a'* مقرّقع clattering, crushing, rumbling (denoting an empty skull).  
 29. *ymmâhmal* مخمّل dazed, crazy, deranged in mind.  
 30. *ymḥârhyš* مخرخش tinkling, jingling, crack-brained.  
 31. *muḥtâll* yš-šū'ûr مختل الشعو (originally classical) having a disordered mind.

From the legal point of view a lunatic is not punishable for the deeds he commits during his benighted state. Before the law he has the same rights which the minor enjoys. Like the minor he has a trustee according to whose decision he may marry. But if both parties are insane, a marriage cannot take place. If the husband becomes insane during the marriage the woman has the right to ask the *qâḍī* for a divorce, which will be granted to her in case her husband is "irrecoverably lost." The man on his part may either divorce a wife with a deranged mind, or, if the case is less serious, await her improvement which is left to his entire discretion. He cannot be forced to divorce her although lunacy may make a marriage null and void. No evidence of a lunatic is accepted before the court.

It is not necessary, that a person must be inhabited by a spirit to be considered insane. There are symptoms which we are apt to regard as signs of *jinn*, even when they have no relation whatsoever with them.<sup>1</sup> In every case, in which such manifestations of a deranged intellect are noticed, the "man of the street" is inspired by reverence to those hidden forces of unknown origin which appear in the lunatic, thus giving him supernatural influence; the *bahlul* has the halo of a saint<sup>2</sup>

The causes of lunacy are manifold. The most important are surely the *jinn*, which are divided into good and evil spirits, *jinn rahmānī* "from God," and *jinn šitānī* "from the devil" (1 Sam. 16 14). Both kinds may cause the disease, although it is very seldom that the good *jinn* inflict any punishment. They do so only in those cases in which a person has committed a sin against universal moral laws. But as they are good natured, burning of frankincense will reconcile

<sup>1</sup> Somnambulism (Psalms 121 6) *ḥylym qāmari*, "lunatic dream," *qāmrah*, "waking" or "walking in the moonlight," is not a sort of lunacy, but is due to the influence of the "intense" moonlight, *ḥāmī*, upon a sensitive sleeper.

<sup>2</sup> This is to be understood *cum grano salis*, as far as the usual mad man is concerned. But it is regular in the case of dervishes falling in ecstasy. It is often very difficult to tell a true lunatic from a derwish *majdūb* in his holy rage. Dr. Canaan, whom I have to thank for many helpful suggestions in this article, brought to my notice the case of an old woman who used to go barefoot and in rags, begging from houses and mumbling. Although she was mentally disturbed, people used to give her liberal alms, on account of their considering her to be a holy woman.



them.<sup>1</sup> The same method is adopted in the case of evil spirits, to make them favourably inclined, if one is afraid of having roused their anger. These latter far outnumber their good brethren. They are known also as "unbelieving" jinns to distinguish them from the former, the "believers." It is a common belief that female demons are numerous.<sup>2</sup> Our idea about the activities of the *jinn* is that there seems to be no particular class of them which consistently strives to afflict the human race with insanity. All their activities along this line being admittedly occasional, the *'afārit* (عفاريت, plural of *'afrit* عفریت), who inhabit wells and springs, cisterns and houses, may safely be considered as the mischief-makers *par excellence*. No difference exists between the activity of male and female demons, unless one is inclined to consider the "better half" more wicked than the other.

A transgressor of universal moral laws must bear in mind that he has offended the good *jinn* themselves. Defiling their dwelling-places, no matter whether by word or deed, is among the causes of lunacy.<sup>3</sup> Also a mother beating her child on the threshold,<sup>4</sup> or pouring water out-of-doors, without, in the latter case, asking the earth *jinn* for permission or even drawing their attention to it,<sup>5</sup> may entail insanity. By disturbing them in one of the ways mentioned one is liable to such punishment.<sup>6</sup> The manner in which it is inflicted upon

<sup>1</sup> The technical term is *lāzym ytbāḥḥyr u-ythāllī*, "you must burn frankincense and offer sweets". It occurs very seldom that good *jinn* inflict punishment; they rather help men, contrary to the bad spirits.

<sup>2</sup> From our standpoint this seems only natural, in accordance with the common belief in the inferiority of women.

<sup>3</sup> Anything defiling the habitation of good and bad *jinn* irritates them. So does coitus under a black fig tree or a carob tree, because these trees are their usual dwelling place. (Cfr. Dr. Canaan: Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries.)

<sup>4</sup> A threshold is the dwelling place of the *jinn* who inhabit the house.

<sup>5</sup> Spirits are supposed to hover before the door, so pouring out of water would irritate them. This is also the case when one urinates in fire or pours water in it without asking permission. This leave must be "applied for" by reciting this formula: *dastūr, ḥādūr, ya sukkān yn-nār, ytfārr'u lā tytfār'a'u*. "By your permission, take care, O inhabitants of the fire. Scatter but do not explode" (Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*).

<sup>6</sup> It may also be inflicted upon a person shouting into a cave or a well (cistern). The same applies to drawing water without asking for permission. A girl of my acquaintance went to draw water from a well in the courtyard at a rather advanced hour. She must have forgotten to ask for leave or thrown the bucket so abruptly as to hurt the *jinn* in the well. What was the result? She was at once frightened to death and has been paralysed for ten years.

a person is of interest. The lunatic either receives a blow in the face (2 Cor. 12 7) or he is shouted at (Acts 9 4); in some cases he will hear words, sweet and tender (2 Cor. 12 4), which ravish him.<sup>1</sup> The latter may be the experience of those who by chance hear the voice of the *'arâyis* (plural of *'arûs*, bride), our Arabic naiads, nymphs and dryads in well, spring and tree. All these manifestations are known mostly to the person affected only,<sup>2</sup> rarely to someone else (cf. Acts 9 7 and 22 9). Nearly all insanity is caused by *jinn*; every other cause is exceptional, e. g. the writing of amulets to make an enemy mad.<sup>3</sup> The use of aphrodisiacs with wine or other liquids may tend to cause temporary insanity.<sup>4</sup> Then the seed of mandragora officinalis, *šujjâ'*, *tuffâh il-majânîn* (besides three other variants of the name) affects the mind for a certain period,<sup>5</sup> so the plant, as well as the fruit itself, is called "lunatics' apple." One of the foetida is believed to cause madness in animals; its name *sêkarân* سكران indicates its inebriating effect upon the animal which eats it.<sup>6</sup>

The *haddah* حضة<sup>7</sup> a sudden nervous shock is also partly responsible for the derangement of the human mind. Even small children are

<sup>1</sup> But if he does not follow them they may inflict upon him one of the following ills: fever with fits, paralysis of the face, disturbed speaking due to paralysis of the tongue, hysteric fits, melancholy, and other similar mental troubles.

<sup>2</sup> Even after being "cured" such a person always remembers the sweet, enchanting voice (Cf. Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, p. 14).

<sup>3</sup> As people do not boast of such a success, a similar case may be described: From a reliable source I heard lately that a man of Nâblus succeeded through an amulet in compelling a married woman, who hated him exceedingly, to ask for divorce from her husband, whom she loved ardently. She left instantly for Jerusalem, where the writer of the amulet was staying temporarily. He ascribes this to the magic forces of the *syhyr* by virtue of which he forced the *jinn* to obey him, and to turn the woman's mind towards him, so that he could ultimately marry her.

<sup>4</sup> Some years ago a well-known person of Jerusalem had fits which led his acquaintances to believe him mad. As he was a habitual drinker he is generally thought to have been given a "medicine," which caused his derangement. He recovered later.

<sup>5</sup> The ripe fruit of the mandrake is yellow and of the size of a green gage. The smell is aromatic and resembles (also in taste) that of the musk melon.

<sup>6</sup> Hydrophobia in common belief is caused by evil spirits, who have taken their permanent abode in a mad dog. Also other animals are believed to become possessed. Thus the *ardyyeh*, epilepsy, attacks the cow, which may be possessed periodically, in occasional fits, or for life with a bad temper, etc. The evil spirit harms the "possessed" animals. Is this not a parallel to Luke 8 33?

<sup>7</sup> In reality the *haddah* is a predisposing cause.



affected by it, and if the symptoms are combined with convulsions then they are surely of demoniacal origin [Dr. Canaan]. Although we do not believe in inherited insanity, superstitious people know that *coitus nudus*, also the act performed in the open (or during menstruation [Dr. Canaan]) affects the mentality of the child to be born, if it be not the one and only cause of "inherited" lunacy. Nervous trembling of an overexcited person may also be ascribed to the *haddah*. Some hold the opinion that love combined with any other sudden emotion, such as sorrow, grief or fright, is apt to make a man mad.<sup>1</sup> Paralysis is one of the serious manifestations caused by the irritation of the *jinn* by men. Epilepsy is another illness inflicted by the evil spirits (in this case *jinn tayyâr*, flying *jinn* [Dr. Canaan]). Hysteria, melancholia, neurasthenia, etc. may also be attributed to the evil spirits. Then there are non-lunatic symptoms caused by *jinn*, e. g., the nervous impotence of a husband, who temporarily cannot fulfil his marital duties, much against his will. During this period he is considered as being "bound up" by those spirits, *marbûṭ* (Dr. Canaan).

Despite the proverb that there is no remedy for madness<sup>2</sup> we have a number of ways in which we contrive to drive evil spirits out. The following is an enumeration of more or less happy methods used. Prayers<sup>3</sup> are often said, with burning of incense, which has been famous since antiquity for its efficacy in expelling evil spirits. In some cases the recitation of magic words (*ta'zîm*) would be appropriate.<sup>4</sup> Some also try the *hijâb*, amulet, with equal success.<sup>5</sup> There is

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<sup>1</sup> The relation between love and insanity is a special subject of its own. In my article "Palestinian Parallels to the Song of Songs" there are different passages dealing with love which drives the lover mad. But the classical example of tragical love is the *majnûn lèilah*, a certain *Qaïs ibn 'Amirah*, who died A. D. 700. If a man loves his wife ardently, she may be supposed to have given him a love potion (*sâ'atō s'iggyeh*), which may sometimes be as bad as that which caused the death of the poet Ovid.

<sup>2</sup> See proverb 22.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. 17 21 which opinion we share.

<sup>4</sup> This summer I heard of the case of a father, who went to a certain exorcist in Jerusalem to get him to expel the evil spirits from his epileptic son. As the charge was excessive (the man asking five pounds Egyptian and a sheep) the father returned without having achieved anything.

<sup>5</sup> A *šēh* south of Jerusalem ordered the gall vesicle of the white carrion vulture for the epileptic.

something of a system in the work of exorcists among the Moslems. The order of the *Qâdrîyyeh*, called after šêḥ 'Abdelqâdir ʔl-Kilânî (Gilânî), of whom a descendant of his spoke to me as *amîr ul- âuliâ*, "prince of saints," and whose *maqâm* is in Bagdâd, usually takes charge of the treatment of lunatics. In the district of Majdal Šâdeq (Majdal Yâbâ) the descendants of a certain ʔamrah replace the *Qâdrîyyeh* order. This ʔamrah is supposed to have suckled the baby Prophet, wherefore she and her "family" have been endowed with superhuman forces against the *jinn*.<sup>1</sup> In Dêr Gassâneh the family of Râbî act as exorcists.

The lunatic, according to their treatment, must observe a special diet, *hîmyeh*. He is given only a certain quantity of food, of special kinds only, mostly unleavened bread. Imprisonment in a dark room or in a dry cistern must be undergone. Occasionally he will be given a special medicin, *nâšqah*, for inhalation. It is so astringent that he falls into a state of delirium, but later comes lethargy, whereupon he is supposed to have improved. Or he may be cauterized on the back of his neck or the top of his head. A sort of massage is also used, but seems to be less effective than beating the mad person with a pomegranate stick, which possesses special virtue.<sup>2</sup> As a very curious treatment I may mention the belief, that "possessed" women may be "cured" by regular sexual intercourse with their husbands. The *jinn* in the vicinity will then say to the demon who inhabits the woman: "Eheu! Homo ponet penem suum in anum tuum!" whereupon he is ashamed and *hîḏbal*, "fades away," leaving her forever!<sup>3</sup>

Christians (and also Moslems) used to take lunatics to the monastery of St. George at el-Ḥâḍr, a village called after the Mohammedan name of this saint, in the vicinity of Bethlehem. This monastery was formerly an established lunatic asylum, where insane people were brought for a treatment<sup>4</sup> such as was considered the best in Europe

<sup>1</sup> One wonders whether this family name (after the ancestress) is not a survival of matriarchy.

<sup>2</sup> The pomegranate tree is never inhabited by *jinn*; therefore it is used against them.

<sup>3</sup> A *jinni* leaving a person is not supposed to return. But against this cf. the passage Matth. 12:43ff., dealing with the evil spirit which returns with seven others worse than himself.

<sup>4</sup> Under quite usual conditions the patient would be "healed" in a fortnight or three weeks. (Statement of the muḥtâr of el-Ḥâḍr.)

up to some two centuries ago.<sup>1</sup> The abbot of the monastery was in charge of these unhappy creatures, who were kept chained (Luke 8 29) night and day to the walls of the church. To-day this practice has ceased and the Government has a lunatic asylum near Bethlehem which employs modern methods. But in those days the saint, in the person of an old man, appeared to those chained, and unloosed the chain from their neck. Such a person, considered by St. George to be sane (or harmless?) and set free by a miracle, was sent home without further difficulties. For God will surely heal such a person, for the sake of the intercession of the "eternally young" Ḥaḍr.<sup>2</sup>

In the following I give a number of proverbs, proverbial sayings and conversational phrases regarding the insane:—

#### A. Proverbs:

1. *aṣāṭ yl-majnūn lāṣabeh* عصاة المجنون خشبه "The stick of the lunatic is a beam." This children's phrase is used to ridicule a person who attacks his adversary in anger (with a piece of wood).
2. *māṣriyyāt (mūṣriyyāt, maṣārī) yl-mājānūn byḍi'ū 'a-balāt (maṣātyb) yl-ḥammāmīn* مصريات [مصري] المجانين يبيضيها ع بلاط [مصاطب] "The money of fools is squandered on the flag-stones (stone benches) of bath-houses."
3. *majnūn rāmā ḥajar fī bīr, ālf 'ā'yl mā ṭālō* مجنون رمى حجر في بئر ألف عاقل ما طاله "A fool has thrown a stone in a well, and a thousand wise men cannot raise it." A fool asks a question, which cannot easily be solved. An inconsiderate person does something, which cannot be undone.
4. *mā by'ā'yl majnūn illā majnūn* ما يبيع المجنون إلا مجنون "Nobody but a lunatic can make a lunatic prudent" (as they are supposed to understand each others' mentality).

<sup>1</sup> Beating the lunatics was considered in mediaeval ages a cure for insanity. "... Tormentis optime curatur . . . fame, vinculis, plagis coerendus est . . ." Celsus III, 18 (quoted from Preuss, *Biblisch-Talmudische Medizin*). But the practice seems to be much older; cf. Jer. 29 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Illī byṭīb kirmāl il-ḥaḍr rābna bysmāḥlō fiha*. For el-Ḥaḍr is more favoured than other saints, being revered by Christians and Mohammedans alike.

5. *mâ hâdâ byfham il-majnûn illâ l-majnûn* ما حدا ييفهم المجنون *لا المجنون* "Nobody but a lunatic understands a lunatic." Cf. story below.<sup>1</sup>
6. *yâ zînt yd-dâr mîlik majânîn yktâr* <sup>2</sup> يا زينة الدار مثلك مجانين "O ornament of the house there are many lunatics like you!" كتار
7. *il-majânîn kamân ûlâd nâs* المجانين كمان اولاد ناس "Lunatics are also people of standing (lit. sons of men)."
8. *ij-jnûn ifnûn* الجنون فنون "Lunacy is arts (crafts, moods, manners, sorts)." A lunatic may have very curious and shrewd ideas.
9. *ij-jnûn ârba'ah u-yšrîn šÿkyl (qyrât)* الجنون اربعة وعشرين شكل *(qyrât)* [قيراط] "There are twenty four sorts (degrees) of lunacy."<sup>3</sup>
10. *ij-jnûn 'ala âlf nô* الجنون على الف نوع "Lunacy may be of a thousand (different) kinds."
11. *tartÿlô bytla' myn yhbâl 'âlô* طرطقله بيطلع من حبال عقله "Just tap him and he will lose his cleverness" (lit. depart from cleverness of his mind).
12. *myš kull myn šalah by-z-zâlî šâr majnûn* مئش كل من شلح بالزلط *šâr* "Not everybody who strips his clothes off has become a lunatic." (Cf. 1 Samuel 19 24.)
13. *mâhyd ijnûnô by-fnûnô* ماخذ جنونه بفنونه "He has insanity in all its branches."
14. *jânn u fânn* جن وفن "He went raving mad and behaved like a thorough madman."
15. *ynjânn u hâlaš (Hânnah Šhâdeh) byddo fšâdeh* الجن وخلص [حنا شحاده] *byddo fšâdeh* "He is completely insane (Hanna Shihadeh) he needs bleeding." Children's rhyme; the name is inserted for the sake of the rhyme.

<sup>1</sup> The cause is, that the inhabiting *jinnî* speaks through the madman. When a sane man talks to a lunatic he will not understand him, because he is different from him. But having the same behaviour, manner and way of acting a *majnûn* will at once understand his "fellow sufferer."

<sup>2</sup> This alludes to a story which relates how a silly woman, in her husband's absence, parts with all her money for the pompous name *zînt yd-dâr* (ornament of the house).

<sup>3</sup> When dividing the inheritance according to the *šer'ah* it would be divided into (usually) twenty-four *qirât*, this number being a sort of a common denominator.

<sup>4</sup> Bleeding is also considered a remedy against lunacy.



16. *yb'at ma' yl-'ā'yl wā la twaṣṣih* "Send the intelligent man on an errand and do not give him instructions." Used ironically. Presumably derived from the classic *yb'at rasūlaka āqilan lā tūṣihi*, a well known hemistich.
17. *'ūwto mītil 'ūwyt il-majānīn* "He has the strength of madmen" (Mark 5 3).
18. *y'mal 'ā'yl majnūn* "Play (the rôle of) a lunatic and a clever person" (Cf. 1 Sam. 21 13).
19. *yn šuft ṭawīl 'azzih by-fu'dān 'ālō* "If you meet a tall man, condole with him on the loss of his mind."
20. *ṭawīl habīl* "Tall" = "idiotic."
21. *kūllu ṭawīl(yn) lā yāhlū min-na-l-hābal(y)*<sup>1</sup> "No tall man is free from idiocy" (of classical origin).
22. *ij-jnūn mālō dāwā* "There is no remedy for folly."
23. *is-sakrān āḥu-l-majnūn* "The drunkard is the brother of the madman."
24. *sāfar il-majānīn fi kawānīn* "Fools journey in December and January." As this is the rainy period no one likes to travel then.
25. *yddārabat il-majnūneh w-il-hām'ā ḥasbātha -r-rā'nā myn ḥā'a* "The lunatic woman and the stupid woman came to blows; so the foolish woman thought it her duty (to interfere)."
26. *hidīyyet ir-rā'nā zālaf kūllma māṣat kyn ḥarḥaṣat* "The present to be given to a foolish woman is oyster-shells; whenever she walks they will tinkle."
27. *'āmyā byt-lāffif majnūneh byt'ul: ḥawājibik ma'rūneh* (rhyme) "A blind woman plucks the (superfluous) hairs of a mad woman; she tells her: Your eye-brows are joined" (this being considered beautifying).

<sup>1</sup> This is expressed contemptuously in the proverb: *yī-tūl tūl yn-nāḥlek u-yl-'ā'yl 'āl ys-sūḥlek* (rhyme), "The height is that of a palm-tree, but the brain is that of a kid." Used of a man with good stature and a questionable intellect.

## B. Idiomatic sayings, conversational phrases:

28. 'ālō buḥudd *عقله بيخض* "His brain is shaken, stirred."
29. 'ālō dyrr *عقله ضر* "His brain is harmed, injured."
30. 'ālō myzz *عقله مز* "His brain is sour, tasteless."
31. 'ālō 'ājyr *عقله عجر* "His brain is sour, unripe."
32. 'ālō nāṣō gāhveh *عقله ناقصه غلوه* "His brain needs (another) boiling." This and the four preceeding phrases imply that a person is not quite sane.
33. 'ālō byāṭy tamūttu *عقله بيعطي تمنع* "His mind pays an income tax." He has too much of it (ironically).
34. 'ālō ymtālmaṣ *عقله مطلق* "His brain is completely benighted." He has no intelligence.
35. 'ālō ymhārbat *عقله مخربط* "His mind is deranged."
36. 'ālō bulū *عقله يبلق* "His brain is shaken, stirred."
37. 'ālō mytl illi bydārri fi-t-tybyn *عقله مثل اللي بيدري في التبن* "His mind is like one who winnows straw."
38. 'ālō (mūhō) yābys (nāšif) *عقله [مخه] يابس [ناشف]* "His brain has dried up (is hard)."
39. 'ālō jōztēn (huffēn) *عقله جوزتين [خقين] عَ جمل* "His mind is (equivalent in weight to) two nuts (variant: two sandals) on a camel."
40. 'ālō dāmeh or dāmeh mitl 'āl il-mājānān *عقله دقمه [دعمه] مثل* "His mind is bewildered like that of lunatics."
41. ṭār 'ālō myn ha-š-šōfeh *طار عقله من هالشوفه* "His mind flew away at this sight." (Over-excitement.)
42. hādā majnūn buthūtt 'ālak fi 'ālō? *هذا مجنون بتخط عقلك في عقله* "This is a fool, do you take him seriously?" (lit. Do you compare your mind to his?). Said to appease one of two parties quarrelling or disputing, etc.
43. majnūn illi by'ālyl 'ālō ma'āk *مجنون اللي بيقلل عقله معاك* "(He is) a lunatic who lessens his intelligence (so as to be mentally on a level) with you!" Said to cut short a futile discussion; also used reproachfully. Slang.

44. *illi bylāhī il-majnūn bykūn (bukūn) ajānn mynnō* اللى بيلحق المجنون بيكون اجن منه "He who follows a lunatic must be more foolish than he." Variant: *mā bylāhī il-majnūn illā ajānn mynnō* ما بيلحق المجنون الا اجن منه "No one follows the lunatic except a still crazier one."
45. *mā ajānn myn il-majnūn gēr illī bihākīh* ما اجن من المجنون غير اللى بيحكاه "No one is more foolish than a lunatic but he who speaks (seriously) with him."
46. *il-majānīn byfhamū 'alā bād'* المجانين يفهموا على بعض "Lunatics understand each other" according to common belief.
47. *kūllma lāhātō bynjānn āktar* كلما لا حقه بينجن اكثر "The more you press him (worry, vex him) the more rabid, (violent, furious) he gets."
48. *byddo rābṭ* بدو ربط "He needs to be bound." I. e., he has the furor melancholicus, he is mad. Also used for an unmanageable, uncouth, clownish, boorish person.
49. *dāššrak mynnō hādā majnūn* دشرك منه هدا مجنون "Leave him, he is insane." (Do not have anything to do with him.)
50. *fī rāṣo nāmīl* في راسه نمل "There are ants in his head." His mind is not quite in order.
51. *dmāgō ymsāuwīsh* دماغه مسوسه (ه) "His brain is wormy."
52. *āna jāy ha'ā'yl majānīn* انا جاي اعقل مجانين "Did I come to convert lunatics into wise men?" This is none of my business.
53. *ānja' lawānny majnūn* انجق لواني مجنون "If (only if) I was a lunatic (would I have done this)."
54. *fīh šūrš ('yr) yjnūn* فيه شرش [عرق] جنون "He has a lunatic vein."
55. *šābō 'yr' yjnūn* صابه عرق جنون "A vein of lunacy has affected him."
56. *'amāilō 'amāyel majānīn* عمايله عمايل مجانين "His actions (doings) are those of lunatics."
57. *fīš ajānn mynnō* فش اجن منه "There is no bigger fool than he".
58. *īši byjānnīn (bi-l-gāšb)* اشي بيجنن [بالغصب] "It drives one mad (by force, against one's will)." Impatient exclamation at something

- unendurable or unsupportable. *hādā (šši) byjānnin* هذا اشي بيجن "It is ravishing." Said of the eyes of a woman, her gait; beauty, etc. Cf. the hemistich: *sawād i'yūnō jannānnī* سواد عيونه "The darkness of his eyes has distracted, ravished me."
59. *injānn tamānnō (lamānnō) šāf ha-š-šōfeh* [لمنه] شاف "He went mad when he saw this sight" (saw it). هالشوفه
60. *injānn fāh* الفخ فيه "He is crazy for it."
61. *šāḥṣ byjānnin* شخص بيجن "An unsupportable, unaccountable fellow, who drives one mad."
62. *zāyy il-kālb il-masru'* زي الكلب المصروع Like a mad dog.
63. *yb'ylmī hālla' kân šāḥī kif tānnō -njānn?* بعلمي هللق كن صاحي "Since I know he was just now sane, how is it that he has gone mad?" كيف تنه انجن?
64. *'ammālak bythārbyṭ, ḥōd lak šārbeh ta-trū'* عمالك بتخرط خد لك "You are in delirium; take a drink (purgative) to get sober." شربه تتروق To a person talking nonsense.
65. *byhātī mītl il-majānīn* بيها تي مثل المجانين "(His mind) pours forth like that of lunatics." He talks nonsense.
66. *majnūn illi mā hū mītlō* مجنون اللي ما هو مثله (He is not a fool, but) "he is a fool who is not like him."
67. *kūllna majānīn mā 'adāk ynt yā šāḥb yl-à'yl!* كلنا مجانين ما عداك "We are all of us crazy, but O you clever one!" (Ironically.) انت يا صاحب العقل
68. *āšbat ijnānō* اثبت جنونه "He has proved his lunacy."
69. *ājat sātō* اجت ساعته "His hour has come." He is now raving, so beware of him. Originally used for the fits of an epileptic.
70. *šābatō l-arḏiyyeh* صابته الارضيه "The earth *jinn* has touched him." He is now raving. Also originally conveying the meaning of "epileptic fit."
71. *dārabō -j-jinn* ضربه الجن "The evil spirits have struck him." Applied originally to epileptics.

<sup>1</sup> Variant: *tamānnō symy' has-sam'ah* or *hal-hābariyyeh* "...when he heard this report (or news)."



In conclusion I give three anecdotes about lunatics, which illustrate their behaviour. They are retold after the Arabic version current in Jerusalem.

There was once a lunatic who fell into a dry cistern. He shouted and screamed and people came to his rescue. They threw him a rope and told him to bind it round his waist. But he did not follow their advice and in spite of all persuasive words kept on refusing. Everybody was at a loss how he could be helped, for they began to fear for the lunatic's life. Fortunately it happened that a man passed by. He looked at the crowd and then, without speaking a single word, fixed his eye on the insane man sharply. Then, pointing with his finger at him, he gave him a sign to come up. The lunatic at once understood him and climbed out.

Some lunatics once had a holiday. They went strolling about the country until they came to a pool. The day was hot and so they decided to sit down and wash their feet. They let them hang down and forgot all about them. It was not until late in the afternoon that they decided to go home. But how to get up, when nobody knew which were his feet? They began to quarrel with each other about them. One said: "These are my feet," and the other said: "No, they are mine." The noise was great and none of them knew a way out of the difficulty. In the midst of all this fighting about the feet a man happened to pass by. He listened to the noise and was greatly astonished to see them in such confusion, no one being able to tell his own feet. He asked them about the cause of their trouble and they implored him to help them kindly to find out each one's feet. So he disappeared and returned soon with a bunch of pomegranate sticks.<sup>1</sup> "Now," he said, "I'll strike at random and whoever feels the blow let him draw out his feet." He beat them all soundly, one by one, until the last of them had drawn his feet from the pool. They all fell upon his hands, and kissed them, thanking him for helping them out of such a great difficulty.

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<sup>1</sup> Pomegranate sticks are, in addition to their enumerated virtues, also more supple and durable than other sticks, equal to the rattan, a fact well known to schoolmasters, who cut the branches and use them freely in and out of season. It is said, that the strokes given by them are more painful than those given by any other stick.

A madman once took hold of a child and ran off with him. Upon the boy's loud screaming the mother came to his rescue, but could not catch the madman. He fled from the crowd which followed him, and climbed up the steep staircase of a minaret. From there he shouted to the onlookers: "If anybody tries to come near me, I'll throw the boy to the ground." All the time he was holding the youngster tightly in his arms, while nobody knew how to deal with him. At last the idea struck a man that only another lunatic could deal with the one on the minaret and save the boy. It did not take long before they came across the man they needed. He brandished a long stick, yelled threateningly at the first madman, who was still on the minaret: "Shall I begin to saw this minaret (variant: cut this minaret with this two edged sword) and throw you down, or are you willing to restore the boy to his mother?" "Alas," cried the first lunatic, "I'll do whatever you want, sir, only please do not scare me so terribly." And he gave the boy to his mother.

# THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH

W. F. ALBRIGHT

• (JERUSALEM)

IN these days when the division of Palestine into administrative districts is causing so much perplexity to the mandatory power, there is a special interest in determining how ancient Palestine was divided for administrative purposes. It is true that in those days the question of efficiency, as we understand that term today, had hardly come up at all, since the arrangement of districts followed time-honored tribal or territorial traditions, modified from time to time by fiscal convenience. Yet centuries of experience have an uncanny way of producing results often equivalent to the conclusions of trained efficiency experts; man learns, slowly but surely, and the clash of rival departments of government, continued through many reigns, leads to the elimination of causes of friction and sources of loss.

It is quite possible that even the scholar will not remember off-hand any sources for knowledge of our subject, but our materials are now quite respectable, though largely unrecognized. The Old Testament contains one passage of great importance, though very corrupt—the list of Solomon's district governors, 1 Kings 4 7–19. The precise geography of this list remained very obscure, however, until the treatment by Alt, in 1913.<sup>1</sup> We will defend his results below against some recent indirect attacks, and endeavor to carry the investigation of the passage in question further. The other materials are mainly inscriptional. For Judah and Israel we have the royal jar handles, whose exact significance is even yet misunderstood,

<sup>1</sup> Alt, *Israel's Game unter Salomo*, in *Alttestamentliche Studien* Rudolf Kittel, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 1–19.

and the new ostraca from Samaria.<sup>2</sup> In the Egyptian texts and the Amarna Tablets we have important sources for the administration of Palestine under the Egyptian Empire, while the Assyrian lists and other documents provide valuable information as to the Assyrian administrative divisions of Palestine.<sup>3</sup> A recent paper by Klein furnishes useful hints from parallel divisions of the Graeco-Roman age.<sup>4</sup>

The first traces of an organized system of provincial administration in Palestine appear in the period of the New Empire, but it is more than probable that this system was inherited from Hyksos or Middle Empire times. Our knowledge of details is still fragmentary. The administrative capital of Palestine was at Gaza,<sup>5</sup> while that of Syria seems to have been at Simyra. Only two of the Egyptian viceroys of Palestine seem, however, to be known by name, Amanhatpa or Amenophis and Yanhamu (Yanham<sup>6</sup>). Besides, there were at least two classes of lower officials, the *râbiṣu* and the *ḥazānu*. The *râbiṣu*, "inspector," was evidently a tax-collector, though the viceroy was also, as we learn from the Taanach letters, compelled to act in serious cases of delinquency. The *ḥazānûti* were local prefects, but their relation to the semi-autonomous local chiefs, of the *awîlu* and *šarru* classes, is not clear. It is quite certain that there were Egyptian garrisons in all the important centers, by the side of the native princes, and the officials in charge of them may have been called *ḥazānûti* by the Syrians. The district unit was naturally the domain of the local *awîlu*, "chief," or *šarru*, "prince, king," which varied greatly in size. The territories of the princes of Jerusalem, Megiddo, Accho, and Hazor, for example, were very considerable,

<sup>2</sup> Now published by Reisner in *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, pp. 227—246.

<sup>3</sup> Conveniently and illuminatingly discussed by Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig, 1921, especially pp. 56—70.

<sup>4</sup> Klein, *Halûgat Yehûdah we-hag-Galîl*, in *Sefer haš-Šanah šel Eres Yišra'el*, Tell Aviv, 5683 (1922—23), pp. 24—41.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. JPOS IV, 139—140.

<sup>6</sup> His name is sometimes equated with \*Yan'am, corresponding to a Hebrew \*Yin'am, but the hieratic transcription *Ynhm* shows that this is wrong; cf. Ranke in Knudtson's edition of the Amarna Tablets, p. 1171 below. Weber still equated the name with a Yan'am, but this is certainly wrong. Of course the cuneiform *ḥ* had to serve for the five laryngeals 'ain, ghain, ha, ḥa and ḥa, since the first four were not represented in this script directly.



as these petty states went. The land belonging to Jerusalem at that time, to judge from the indications of the letters from this city, can hardly have been less than two hundred square miles in area. The prince of Hazor is strong enough to rule all eastern Galilee, and the new letters published by Thureau-Dangin show that his territory bordered on that of Pella, thirty-three miles away in a straight line.<sup>7</sup> Others, like the chiefs of Lachish and Ashkelon, controlled very small principalities indeed. Then again there were confederacies, like the later Horite tetrapolis northwest of Jerusalem, and there were still other tracts occupied by Ḥabiru, and hence in a primitive tribal condition which must have been just as hard for the Egyptian tax-collectors to oversee as similar Bedawin groups on both sides Jordan have proved for the Turks in more recent times.

With the settlement of Israel in Palestine, extending and consolidating the occupation begun centuries before by the Ḥabiru, or Hebrews,<sup>8</sup> we find a remarkably regular system of tribal districts introduced, and preserved with surprising fixity for many generations. It is true that we do not know the exact date to which we may ascribe the tribal divisions and boundaries indicated with such care in the book of Joshua, but there can be no doubt whatever that the compiler did his best to reconstruct the pre-Davidic map of Israel.<sup>9</sup> Since it goes without saying that the boundaries had changed in the centuries that had elapsed down to the Exile, no one could have made a successful reconstruction without careful historical research or the use of old documents. Since the reconstruction appears to have been remarkably successful, it follows that old sources were used by our priestly compiler. It should be emphasized in this connection, that the account of the distribution of the tribes is very accurate and logical; the confusion and contradictions found in our

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dhorme, RB XXXIII (1924), 9.

<sup>8</sup> The present writer hopes to discuss the problem of the Ḥabiru at length soon, in opposition to the growing tendency to separate the Ḥabiru and the Hebrews; cf. especially Dhorme RB XXXIII, 12-16 and JPOS IV, 162-168.

<sup>9</sup> The attempt to separate the documentary sources of the tribal geography of Joshua, chapters 15-19, seems to the writer to have failed, nor does the latest analysis by Eissfeldt. *Hexateuch-Synopse*, pp. 230\*ff. commend itself. The trouble is that the criteria are insufficient. The probabilities seem to point toward a compilation of "JE" in the seventh century; P's additions were very slight and unimportant.

present text disappear almost entirely after a thorough application of our new methods of textual criticism. These methods, which will be developed in a series of monographs on the topography of Palestine, consist in the restoration of the Hebrew text which underlies these versions and the reconstitution, as far as possible, of the original Hebrew text underlying the former. Such reconstitution of topographical documents is much more objective than the reconstruction of poetic texts now so popular with Old Testament scholars. The same principles of textual corruption are utilized, but the somewhat elastic norm of metre is replaced by topographical facts, which usually furnish us with a certain measure of the correctness of our results. A good illustration of this method will be furnished below, in the discussion of 1 Kings 4.

While, as just observed, we cannot be certain as to the exact date when the tribal boundaries of the Book of Joshua were fixed, and the comparison of the limits of the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Dan shows a certain amount of superimposition, at the same time it is highly probable that they continued to be valid down to the time of David. The Solomonic reorganization, of which more hereafter, follows the old tribal divisions as closely as the new conditions established by David's conquests and the shifting of trade centres allowed, so we may safely assume that David organized his fiscal system on a tribal basis.

Were we in possession of the original numbers of the Davidic census, which was no doubt arranged according to tribes and clans, *respective* administrative districts and precincts, we should naturally have material of the greatest historical value. The writer believes, however, that we do have garbled versions of the Davidic census preserved in Num. 1 and 26. It has long been recognized that these figures cannot possibly refer to the number of Israelites who came out of Egypt with Moses, nor does Petrie's extraordinary attempt to reduce them stand before the slightest criticism.<sup>10</sup> Yet they cannot

<sup>10</sup> Petrie has presented his hypothesis several times; the latest publication of it is in *Egypt and Israel*, London, 1923, pp. 40—46. It is curious to the last degree, but undoubtedly possesses the virtue of ingenuity. According to Sir William, the "thousands" (*alāfîm*) in the census lists should be rendered "families, while the hundreds represent the total number of individuals in all the families," i. e., in the entire tribe. Thus the 46,500 of Reuben in Num. 1 should be rendered "46 families with 500 people," giving each family an average of

be explained solely as priestly speculation on the principle of *gematria*.<sup>11</sup> They must have a basis of some kind. Since no census can well have been made before David's time, and there is no record of any having been made after, even in the divided states—where it would naturally follow the later administrative divisions—we can hardly escape the conclusion that our figures belong to the census in question. It is easy to see how the figures may have been dissociated, through some misunderstanding or accident, from their connection with the history of David, and erroneously referred to the numbers of the tribes in Moses' time. It can hardly be accidental that both lists belong to the latest of our pentateuchal documents, the Priestly Code. That the lists are garbled versions of the same original may be mathematically proved.<sup>12</sup> This fact naturally proves that they had a complicated history before reaching the hands of

eleven for this tribe. The total number of Israelites dwindles to 598 (or 596) families, with 5550 (or 5730) people, including men, women and children. Absurdly small as this figure is for a nation which was to conquer all Palestine, it can hardly appeal to the most conservative. The philological objections, however, make the theory impossible. The Hebrew *elef*, *alāfīm* (Petrie prefers to use the Arabic plural *alāf*, despite the fact that the latter never means "clan") means properly "clan, main subdivision of a tribe," never "family, tent(!)" as he imagines. The word *elef* is used in Jud. 6 15 for the Manassite clan of Abi'ezer, which included several towns and villages in central Manasseh (see below). In 1 Sam. 10 19, 23 23, etc., it is also used for the clan as the largest subdivision of the tribe. In Numbers the word occurs several times as a synonym for "tribe" itself; e. g., Num. 1 16, 10 4, etc. Originally, of course, the meaning "clan, tribe" connoted a group of several hundred to several thousand individuals, whence it came to be used for the next decimal number above "hundred." In the same way the Assyrian cognate of Heb. *le'ôm*, "tribe, people, nation," means "thousand" (*līmu*).

<sup>11</sup> No proof has ever been given that any of the original numbers of the Old Testament were invented by means of isopsephism. Yet, since the process was well known to Hellenistic historians, and is known to have been used in Mesopotamia under the Sargonids, the possibility that it was employed by the compilers of the Priest Code does certainly exist. It is not unlikely that the total of 603,000 (not counting the hundreds!) in Num. 1 is due to the fact that the numerical value of *בני ישראל* is  $2 + 50 + 10 + 10 + 300 + 200 + 1 + 30 = 603$ . In case this is not a mere coincidence (cf. the commentators) it can only be due to a slight modification of the original numbers in order to produce the required sum. Coincidence plays such tricks, however, that one should be wary.

<sup>12</sup> In the following table I am endeavoring to illustrate the processes of corruption, not to restore the original numbers, which would naturally be impossible. Yet the result cannot be far wrong in most cases, and may safely be made a basis for computation. Judah and Manasseh have the largest numbers,

the priestly editor, since the numerous transpositions can only be explained if we assume that the original census list was handed down in tabular form for a long period of time, being copied often and carelessly enough to produce the two divergent recensions we have seen. If the table had an independent documentary history, dissociated from a fixed context, its separation from the Davidic census is easy to understand.

Simeon and Benjamin the smallest, just as to be expected. The only surprises are in the case of Dan and Ephraim, whose populations are too large and too small, respectively, though we must remember that there were two sections of Dan to be counted; perhaps we should interchange the numbers.

Tribes	Num. 1	Num. 26
Reuben	46,500	= 43,730 (46,500) <sup>d</sup>
Simeon	59,300 (22,200) <sup>a</sup>	= 22,200
Gad	45,650 *(40,500) <sup>b</sup>	= 40,500
Judah	74,600	= 76,500 (73,730) <sup>d</sup>
Issachar	54,400	= 64,300 (54,400) <sup>eg</sup>
Zebulun	57,400	= 60,500
Ephraim	40,500 *(45,650) <sup>b</sup>	= 32,500 *(45,600) <sup>f</sup>
Manasseh	32,200 (69,300) <sup>a</sup>	= 52,700 (64,300) <sup>eg</sup>
Benjamin	35,400 (31,500) <sup>c</sup>	= 45,600 *(32,500) <sup>f</sup>
Dan	62,700	= 64,400 (62,700) <sup>eg</sup>
Asher	41,500 (45,400) <sup>c</sup>	= 53,400 *(45,400) <sup>h</sup>
Naphthali	53,400	= 45,400 *(53,400) <sup>h</sup>
Total	603,550	601,730

In this table the numbers in parentheses represent the results of transposition, either simple, in which case the parentheses are marked with asterisks, or complex, where one digit is preserved unchanged by the transposition (except in (a), where the process is slightly more complicated). As will be noted, these simple shifts have resulted in eight exact equations and two practical identities. The process of alteration in individual numbers with preservation of the original totals is so common in ancient chronological tables that no surprise can be caused by finding the same principle at work in the textual transmission of census lists. For instance, the Babylonian King List B has altered the original lengths of reigns of the kings of the First Dynasty in such a way that all the numbers but two are different, yet the sum remains approximately constant. Fortunately we can point out precisely how this happened. The Babylon list ascribed 43 years correctly to Hammurabi, while the Larsa list gave him 12 years there, because he captured Larsa in the 31<sup>st</sup> year of his reign. The later scribe, having the two lists before him harmonized them in the characteristic ancient oriental way by simply adding them, thus creating the 55 years which Hammurabi receives in B. He or a colleague then miscopied the preceding number, writing 30 for 20. In order to produce agreement with the original total, he proceeded to alter the other reigns, cutting twelve years from the reign of Hammurabi's third successor, etc. Many exactly parallel cases might be given, but this will suffice.



An important additional argument for our contention that the lists in Numbers belong to David may be derived from a comparison of the figures otherwise reported for his census. 1 Sam. 24 9 gives the number of warriors in Judah as 500,000 and in Israel as 800,000, the census covering all Israel from Beersheba to Kadesh on the Orontes (with 6). These numbers were naturally too low for the Chronicler's taste, so he substituted numbers which he must have obtained from another, but respectable source, as will be seen presently. 1 Chr. 21 5 states the numbers as 470,000 for Judah and 1,100,000 for Israel. Even these figures seemed too moderate, however, so he restricted the area of enumeration to the south of Dan, instead of Kadesh, and excluded the tribes of Levi<sup>13</sup> and Benjamin from the census. This would imply a total of about 1,900,000, allowing 160,000 for each tribe, on the Chronicler's reckoning, or half again as much as the total in Samuel. Numbers of this type in oriental documents exhibit precisely the same laws of growth as chronological numbers,<sup>14</sup> so we may easily infer the underlying processes of substitution and addition by which they grew—processes which explain without incriminating, since the ancient historiographer was seldom dishonest, but frequently the victim of his point of view. In the list of Numbers, as reconstructed above, the three tribes of Judah (Judah, Simeon and Benjamin) have together 128,000—129,000, or 130,000 in round numbers. The nine tribes of Israel proper have thus 470,000 (600,000—130,000). But this is precisely the number assigned to Judah by the Chronicler's source, while the source in Samuel rounds it off to 500,000 for Judah. The Chronicler assigns Israel 1,100,000, or 500,000 more than the total for all Israel in Numbers. Obviously what happened is simply this: a confusion arose between the total for "Israel" (= Israel and Judah) and that for "Israel" (= the northern kingdom). Some writer took the 600,000 for all Israel to be the population of the northern group of tribes, and then not unnaturally

<sup>13</sup> The Chronicler evidently overlooked the fact that the Davidic census must have included the Levites in the enumeration of the tribal districts through which they were scattered.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. especially the suggestive treatment of the growth of the Manethonian numbers by Weill, *La fin du moyen empire égyptien*, pp. 252—267. Cf. also the remarks in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. X, pp. 96 ff.; *Journal of the Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. 43, pp. 326—29.

inferred that the other available number 470,000, or 500,000 in round numbers, also assigned to "Israel" (= the northern group), belonged to the other section of "Israel," that is, Judah. The total resulting from the addition of these two numbers was 1,100,000, precisely what the Chronicler assigns to "Israel" as the northern group alone. Evidently the process was repeated again, presumably by the Chronicler himself, whose final result (apart from his elimination of two tribes) is equivalent to the primary figures for Israel + Israel + Judah + Israel! The coincidence is so striking that we cannot well avoid combining the Chronicler's figures with those in Numbers. The number 800,000 assigned in Samuel to Israel proper is probably to be explained as 600,000 for "Israel" plus 200,000 for Judah, considering the latter figure as a round number based upon the higher figures for Simeon and Benjamin.

It should go without saying that the restored number of 600,000 for the total of David's census includes the entire population, men, women and children. That it applied only to the *anšê hail*, "citizen soldiers," was a natural assumption of later scribes and historiographers, used to the exaggerated numbers handed down by tradition. Naturally, the idea that Israel then numbered some three millions of persons is grotesque, as frequently pointed out. The total area of Israelite Palestine, exclusive of the southern desert, was between 7000 and 8000 square miles, much of which, moreover, was arid, as in the Jordan Valley and its adjacent slopes. What remained was mostly limestone hill-country, badly eroded, and then largely covered with bush. Besides, the Israel of David's day was a nation of *péasants* and shepherds, long decimated by external and internal strife, and not yet engaged to any extent in commerce. If we compare it with modern Palestine we shall find that the country has suffered severely since then from bad agricultural methods and Turkish oppression, but has gained greatly from its having become a centre of religious and idealistic interest, which receives vast sums of money annually from abroad, making a heavy excess of imports over exports possible. There is a striking parallel between the population of Western Palestine today and in David's time, if our estimates are correct, which indicates that the gain and loss practically cancel each other. If we subtract the total of 100,000—120,000 belonging to the trans-jordanic tribes of Reuben, Gad and half Manasseh from the total

of 600,000, we obtain a remainder of about 500,000 for cisjordanic Israel. To this we must add about 200,000 for the southern part of the coastal plain, including Philistia (which was then surely more populous than the hill country of Southern Palestine: 130,000 + half of Dan), and perhaps about 50,000 for southern Phoenicia, including the coastal plain from Carmel to north of Achzib, giving us a total of 750,000—just what the population is today.<sup>15</sup>

The census of David is placed by tradition at the end of his reign, so it is doubtful whether he lived to carry through the reorganization of his fiscal and administrative system which was evidently contemplated in the census. Indeed, the popular revulsion of feeling caused by an ill-timed plague was presumably so strong as to discourage an effort to utilize the results of his census.

What David could not do, Solomon did. The unique document preserved in 1 Kings 4 7–19 (cf. above) gave originally a complete list of his new administrative districts with their prefects and their geographical extent. Unfortunately, it was damaged when it fell into the hands of the editor of Kings, as follows from the fact that a number of the personal names in the first half of the document are lost, only the patronymics remaining, so that the upper right hand

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<sup>15</sup> The writer hopes to discuss the probable population of Palestine at various periods of its history elsewhere in the near future. Probably the total population of Western Palestine in the Amarna Age was not far from half a million; in the time of David we may reckon on a fifty percent increase, while the population of the country two centuries later may have been about a million. Sennacherib tells us that 200, 150 people of Judah submitted to his rule, exclusive of the population of Jerusalem. Since Hezekiah's bodyguard and a certain number of fugitives must be included in this number, besides those who escaped being captured by the Assyrians, the total population of Judah may have been about 250,000, or nearly twice what it was in David's time. This is only natural when we recall that Judah was a wild country, overrun with robbers, at the time of David's accession, while such kings of Judah as Asa, Jehoshaphat and Uzziah immensely developed it, and greatly improved the security of the Negeb and Shephelah. At the opening of the Christian era, when Palestine reached the acme of commercial, industrial and agricultural development under a Hellenistic civilization and the *pax romana*, the population may have been about a million and a half, not including half a million residents of Eastern Palestine (Transjordan). One of the clearest indices (aside from actual contemporary figures given by reliable authorities) is furnished by the relative number of occupied villages. More than twice as many ruins in the hill country were inhabited during the Roman period as in the Early Iron Age.



corner of the original papyrus sheet was evidently broken off. The document is also in a very corrupt state of text, which perhaps indicates that it had often been copied before being incorporated in the text of Kings, after which it was relatively secure from further corruption. It is easy to see why a record of such fundamental administrative importance should have been copied often, so its corrupt state is easy to explain.

We may translate the document as follows, discussing corrections of the text in the footnotes:

1. [ ] son of Hôr<sup>16</sup> in Mount Ephraim.
2. [ ] son of Deqer in *Mqš* and in Ša'albim and Bêt-šemeš and Ayyalôn and Bêt-ḥanan.<sup>17</sup>
3. [ ] son of H̄esed in Arubbôt; he had Šôkô and all the land of H̄efer.
4. [ ] son of Abinadab, all the *nafât* Dôr;<sup>18</sup> (Tafat daughter of Solomon was his wife).
5. Ba'nâ son of Aḥilûd, Taanach and Megiddo as far as beyond Yoqne'am, and all Bêt-še'an below Jezreel, from Bêt-še'an to Abel-meḥolah which is near Šaretan.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> ~~M~~ points *Hâr*, but the name is of Egyptian origin, as well known.

<sup>17</sup> Read naturally ו before בית חנן; it was omitted by haplography after אילון, which should be pointed as "absolute," *Ayyālôn*, instead of construct, *Ēlôn*. In this paper we transcribe proper names either according to the familiar forms of the English Bible, when they are common, or phonetically, when rare or in process of philological treatment. Apparent inconsistency is absolutely unavoidable if one is not to be unnecessarily pedantic.

<sup>18</sup> For the fullest treatment of the *nāfât Dôr* cf. Dahl, *Materials for the History of Dor*, pp. 21–27. The expression cannot mean "Heights of Dor," since the ridge behind Dor is nothing but a low outcropping of rock, absolutely bare, and only just high enough to conceal the beautiful plain which stretches for miles beyond. Symmachus' rendering ἡ παραλία seems the best, and may be etymologically illustrated by the cognate Arabic *nāfnaf* or *nafnâf*, "cliff, precipice." Much of the coast between lat. 32° 20' and Carmel, corresponding to our "coast region of Dor," is lined with cliffs.

<sup>19</sup> Read: בענא בן אחילוד תענך ומגדו עד מעבר ליקנעם וכל בית שאן מתחת לזרעאל מבית שאן עד אבל מחולה אשר אצל צרתן. The transpositions will be discussed below in the text. The changes of reading are insignificant and obvious.

6. a) [Ūrî(?)] son of Geber in Ramoth Gilead; he had the *ḥawwôt Ya'ir* (son of Manasseh which is in Gilead); he (also) had the region of Argob (which is in Bashan, sixty large towns with walls and bronze bars).<sup>20</sup>
- b) Geber son of Ūrî in the land of Gilead; (the land of Sihon king of the Amorites and Og king of Bashan).
7. Aḥinadab son of 'İddô in Maḥanáyim.<sup>21</sup>
8. Aḥima'aš in Naphtali [and Issachar?]; (he also married Bašemmat daughter of Solomon).<sup>22</sup>
9. Ba'nâ son of Hûšai in Asher [and Zebulun(?)].
10. Jehoshaphat son of Parûḥ, Be'alôt(?).<sup>23</sup>
11. Šim'î son of Elâ in Benjamin.
12. And a prefect (*našîb*) who was in the land of Judah.<sup>24</sup>

The first district offers no trouble. It presumably was coterminous with the tribal limits of Ephraim. The second one clearly corresponds roughly to the southern Dan, since three of the towns mentioned, Ša'albîm, Bêt-šemeš and Ayyalôn (so read for Êlôn), recur in the list of towns of Dan. The enigmatic *Mqš* has probably been identified correctly by Clauss with the *Muḥḥaši*<sup>25</sup> of the Amarna Tablets (cf. EA 1347), not far from Gezer; in this case, however, we should read *Mḥš*, the medial *q* being due to contamination by the medial *q* in the immediately preceding *Dqr*. The Egyptian spelling *Mḥs* (Tuthmosis list, no. 61, between Yurša and Joppa) offers no difficulty, since a *samek* or *šin* frequently become *šadê* in Hebrew under the influence of an adjacent *ḥêt* (partial assimilation). Bêt-ḥanan is almost certainly modern Bêt-'anan, a town on the Benjamite border, in the hills five miles east of Yâlô-Ajalôn. Here again there is no phonetic

<sup>20</sup> This and the following are doublets; see below.

<sup>21</sup> Omit the directive π.

<sup>22</sup> For changes in the order and suggested additions in this number and the following, see the discussion below.

<sup>23</sup> The text has *u-be'alôt*, which could mean either "and in 'Alôt," or "and Be'alôt." Since the latter is a perfectly good place-name, while the former has no parallel, the critical task is simple.

<sup>24</sup> We should naturally connect „Judah” with the preceding, though it is possible that one “Judah” has been lost by haplography.

<sup>25</sup> The last syllable of this name is written *zi*, but in the orthography of the Amarna Tablets *ZI* represents *zi*, *si*, and *ši*.

difficulty, since *hêt* and *'ayin* interchange repeatedly after a preceding voiceless *t* in modern Arabic equivalents of Hebrew place-names.

The third district was erroneously located in southern or western Judah until Alt proved that it corresponds to western Manasseh (*op. cit.*, pp. 2—9). There can be no doubt that his happy identification of Sôkô with Šuweikeh north of Tûl Karem is correct.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, it is, I believe, possible to secure more data bearing on the identifications of Arubbôt and the land of Hefer. There are two possible identifications of Arubbôt, both apparently new: the ancient site of Râbâ north of Tûbâš (bib. Tebeš) and 'Arrâbeh, eleven miles in a straight line northeast of Šuweikeh. Râbâ is too far to the east, and its name clearly goes back to a Hebrew *\*Rabbah* or the like, especially since the ruined fortress just east of the modern village is called *Hirbet Rabrâbah*, i. e., Aram. *rabrâbâ*, "very great." The location of 'Arrâbeh is most suitable, and the initial *'ayin* is easily explained by the influence of the common place-name *'Arabah* (עֲרָבָה) which appears as *'Arrâbeh* in modern Arabic.<sup>27</sup> The land of Hefer is certainly identical with the Manassite clan of Hefer (Num. 26 32ff., 27 1; Jos. 17 2). Since Hefer and the other Manassite clans are said to be descended (i. e., derived) from Gilead, it was formerly supposed that they were actual Gileadite clans,<sup>28</sup> in spite of the fact that Abî'ezer, Gideon's clan, dwelt around 'Ofrah (Tell Fâr'ah, at the

<sup>26</sup> Both Jewish Socohs are now represented also by the name *Šuweikeh*, diminutive of *šôkeh*, "thorn." Such diminutives are very common in modern Arabic forms of ancient place-names. This popular etymology happens to be correct; Heb. *šwk* means "hedge about (with thorns)."

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Talmudic *'Arabah*, modern *'Arrâbeh* north of the Sahel Baṭṭôf in Galilee.

<sup>28</sup> The form of the Manassite genealogy preserved in 1 Chr. 7 14-19 is in this respect more accurate, though otherwise badly corrupted. Here we should evidently read:—The sons of Manasseh: Aśri'el [Heleq, etc.(?)] אֲשֵׁר יִלְדָה is dittography of the preceding אֲשֵׁר יִלְדָה, influenced by the יִלְדָה of the next clause); his Aramaean concubine bore Machir the father of Gilead (always strongly under Aramaean influence), (here follows a strictly Gileadite genealogy) and his (Machir's?) sister Ham-molêket bore Îšhôd (so?) and Abî'ezer and Maḥlah. And the sons of Šemida' were Aḥyan(?) and Šekem and Liqḥî(?) and Anî'am (error for Abîno'am?)." This genealogy is much more complicated than the simplified system of relationships given by Numbers and Joshua. Abî'ezer is here placed on a level with the minor clan Maḥlah, elsewhere daughter (granddaughter) of the major clan Hefer. Šekem, instead of being a major clan, is the son of Šemida'; the pointing with two segols does not prove for a moment that this *Škm* is distinct from the town of Shechem, especially since the original pronunciation was segholate, *Šakmi* of the Amarna Tablets.





head of Wâdī Fâr'ah, east of Nâblus), west of Jordan. Now, thanks to the ostraca from Samaria, of which more below, we know otherwise. Four of the six principal clans of Manasseh appear as districts of western Manasseh, and two of the subdivisions of Hephher (which is not mentioned itself) figure in the same rôle. These five sub-clans ("daughters" of Zelophehad the son of Hephher) are called Maḥlah, No'ah, Ḥoglah, Milkah, and Tirṣah. No'ah and Ḥoglah (cf. the name

*Bêt-hoglah*, of a town at the mouth of the Jordan) are among the districts of Manasseh mentioned on the ostraca. The name *Tirṣah* helps us to locate the region occupied by Hephher more exactly. Hitherto, *Tirṣah* has been erroneously located northeast of Shechem, either at Tallūzah or at Teyāsīr, but neither identification is more than a pure guess, based upon a fancied similarity of name. In reality the names cannot possibly be identified with *Tirṣah*. We have, however, a valuable topographic hint, which has not been understood. 2 Kings 15 14—16 says that when Menahem rebelled against Shallum, he marched from Tirzah to Samaria, and at that time (*az*) attacked and plundered Tappuah because that town refused to admit him.<sup>29</sup> Tappuah is stated to have been contiguous to Tirzah (and he smote . . . her borders from Tirzah). Since Tappuah lay on the border of Ephraim and Manasseh, between Mikmetat (Ḥirbet Maḥneh el-Fôqā)<sup>30</sup> and the naḥal Qanah (= Wādī Qānah),<sup>31</sup> it must be located somewhere near the headwaters of the Wādī Qānah,<sup>32</sup> and Tirzah must be sought near it on the Manassite side of the boundary. The writer is not yet ready to advance a positive identification, but a location in the group of ancient towns with mounds and springs just southwest of Gerizim appears practically certain. The district of Hephher is then in southwestern Manasseh—precisely where the Canaanite town of the same name ought to be according to the

<sup>29</sup> *M* offers תפח instead of תפוח, as we should naturally read with *Luc*, which has Ταφωσ. In old Hebrew cursive *samek* and *waw* are often indistinguishable.

<sup>30</sup> The identification will be discussed in the *Annual of the American School*, vol. IV. For the phonetic equivalence of spirated *kaf* and modern Arabic *ḥa* cf. *Mikmaš* = *Muḥmās*; for the dissimilation of the second *mem* cf. *Meirôn* = *Merôm*. The haplogical ellipsis of the final *t* may have taken place in Aramaic.

<sup>31</sup> There is not the slightest phonetic difficulty in identifying the Hebrew *naḥal Qānāh* with modern *Wādī Qānah*. Even Buhl was inclined to hesitate about the identification because of the writing *قانة* in the *Survey of Western Palestine, Name Lists*, p. 248. Palmer, however, very justly observed that this spelling was "probably an error of the native scribe for *قانة*." The present writer has ascertained by careful enquiry that the form *Qānah* is correct, no *fellāḥ* ever pronouncing *Qāna*, as the peasants would if the word had an initial *kaf*. I have elsewhere written erroneously *Qānā* = قانا.

<sup>32</sup> It seems practically certain that Tappuah lay somewhere above the numerous springs at the head of the *Wādī Qānah*, and a more thorough search than I have yet been able to make would probably disclose the mound which represents its site. The Survey examined this not unimportant section of Palestine very perfunctorily indeed.

sequence in Jos. 12 17-18, where it is listed between Tappuah and Aphek of Sharon (Qal'at Râs el-'Ain).<sup>33</sup> Solomon's third district, therefore, included all the hill-country of Manasseh west of the water-shed, and probably also the district southeast of this, about Shechem, Shalem, and Ophrah. The region of Gilboa, northeast of a line Ibleam—Bezek (Jenîn—Hirbet Ibziq) must have belonged to the fifth district, as will be seen.

Solomon's fourth district brings us to the *naḥāl Dôr*,<sup>34</sup> "the Coast of Dor," that is, the coastal plain between Joppa and Carmel, with Dor, modern Tell Ṭanṭûrah, as chief town. This district was partly formed by newly conquered territory, in apparent distinction to Solomon's other administrative districts, which were otherwise mainly in territory already occupied by Israelites before David's time. In general, conquered territories were allowed to remain autonomous on condition that they paid their annual tribute, though we may safely assume that David and Solomon annexed many towns and districts claimed by Israel but occupied by more powerful neighbors. To a ruler with such a great interest in the development of Israelite trade, a firm foothold on the coast must have seemed necessary, and since both the Philistines and the Phoenicians were too strongly organized to be dislodged easily, the relatively weak and disunited towns between were best suited to his purpose. The fifth district must have contained nearly, if not quite as much conquered territory as the fourth, since it included Megiddo and Beth-shan, which were certainly not Israelite before the reign of David, as well as Jokneam, Taanach and other strong Canaanite towns, which were probably also annexed by David.

Axiomatic as the identification of the Biblical *Dôr* (דור, דאר) with the Egyptian *Dr*, Phoenician *D'r*, Assyrian *Du'ru*, Hellenic *Dora* has hitherto seemed, it has recently been rejected by Phythian-Adams, in connection with his excavations at Ṭanṭûrah.<sup>35</sup> The identification of this magnificent mound with the Hellenistic city was already topographically certain, and the excavations have confirmed it. The sections already cut in the mound have shown that the thick Hellenistic-Roman stratum is underlaid by successive layers of occupation from the Early-Middle and Late Bronze and Early Iron,

<sup>33</sup> See JPOS III, 50-53.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. note 18 above.

<sup>35</sup> See *British School, Bulletin* No. 4, pp. 35-38 (by Mr. Phythian-Adams).

while the Sikel conquest seems to be marked by a burned layer separating Late Bronze from early Iron. Phythian-Adams therefore accepts the identification of Tanṭûrah with all the extra-biblical Dors, but denies that it represents the biblical Dor. While such independence does credit to one's love of truth, especially in view of the excavator's temptations, it must expect refutation. It seems to the present writer that there can be no possible doubt as to the identity of the biblical and extra-biblical Dor. Quite aside from other considerations is the mere fact that Phythian-Adams' identification of the biblical Dor with Tell Abū Šūseh<sup>36</sup> would place the fourth district in the heart of the fifth one, to which both Jokneam and Megiddo, between which is Abū Šūseh, belonged. It may be added that Tell Abū Šūseh is a small mound, with several more natural identifications at hand. The arguments advanced are all general, and mostly too tenuous to grasp. The contention that the biblical Dor is sometimes said to be in the district of *nafât-Dôr* in order to distinguish it from Dor on the coast is the most plausible one, but is not convincing; we should not forget that Dor and Endor (written as two separate words—*Ên-dôr*, "Fountain of Dor") are confused in our text occasionally, and that *nafât Dôr* may be added to distinguish Dor on the coast from Endor. With regard to Jos. 17 11–13: Manasseh had in Issachar and Asher Beth-shean, Ibleam, Dor, Endor, Taanach and Megiddo, Phythian-Adams says that "we find Dor in a context which limits us severely to the plain of Esdraelon." Since the tribe of Asher was strictly maritime, and was entirely separated from the plain of Esdraelon by the tribe of Zebulun, while the plain itself was almost entirely counted to Issachar, it is evident that this statement in Joshua must refer to the Dor on the coast, for all the other towns are in Esdraelon. The reason why Dor so often appears in enumerations with the Canaanite towns of Esdraelon is naturally that Dor was the only city of importance in the whole stretch of coast west of Esdraelon. Accho is considerably farther from Megiddo than Dor is, and there are several easy roads across the low ridge south of Carmel.

The extent of the fifth administrative district is clear, though a slight rearrangement of the text has proved necessary, since the present

<sup>36</sup> Tell Abū Šūseh cannot be called a "dominating site" by anyone who has its situation well in mind. It is rather absurd to compare so small a mound with Tanṭûrah, to the disadvantage of the latter (p. 38 below).



order of clauses is in part quite impossible. The correction of the order from *abcdefg* to *abgecd* is imperative, since Jokneam is beyond Megiddo, and Zarethan is near Abel-mehôlah, not Beth-shean.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> There has been much lack of clearness regarding Saretan, which is otherwise mentioned in two passages, Jos. 3 16 and 1 Kings 7 46, both demanding a critical treatment before being used. In the first passage the Greek enables us to restore the original without difficulty. Happily, the writer's reconstruction of the Hebrew text underlying the Greek proved to agree exactly with that of Professor Margolis, the first authority on Septuagintal criticism, to whom the writer is indebted for this valuable corroboration and an additional suggestion for the development of the present Hebrew text. We may place the various stages in the textual history of the passage together, explaining them afterwards:

1. Probable original text . . . . . הרחק מאדמה עד מצד צרתן
2. Text after scribal dittography . . . . . הרחק מאדמאדמה עד מצד צרתן
3. Correction of text by prototype of  $\mathfrak{A}$  . . . הרחק מאד באדמה עד מצד צרתן
4. Correction of text by MS behind  $\mathfrak{G}^B$  . . . הרחק מאד מאד עד מצד צרתן
5. Present text of  $\mathfrak{A}$  . . . . . הרחק מאד באדם העיר (אשר) מצד צרתן

After the letters אדמהעד had been corrupted to אדם העיר the אשר had to be inserted for syntactic reasons. The other phases of development are perfectly simple. The original then ran: "And the water coming down from above stood still, (and) rose up into a single mass as far from Adamah as beside Saretan." In other words, Saretan must be sought in the Jordan Valley some little distance north of ed-Dâmîeh (Tell ed-Dâmîeh = Adamah). In this connection I would like to recant part of my opposition to Sellin's Gilgal theory and also to endorse his theory regarding the original crossing of the Israelites by the Dâmîeh ford (cf. Sellin, *Gilgal*, pp. 21 ff.).—The second passage is 1 Kings 7 46, where it is said that Solomon cast the bronze vessels of the temple "in the foundries(?) of Adamah between Succoth and Saretan." It is true that Moore, followed by others, corrects *ma'beh*, "foundry" (?) to *ma'bar*, "passage," here "ford of Adamah," but such an emendation is against the principle of *difficilior lectio*, as well as improbable in itself. Why should the bronze be cast "in the ford of Adamah?" The *hapax legomenon*, *ma'beh*, has a plausible etymology from the stem 'by, "be thick, solid." 1 Chron. 4 17, the parallel passage, has corrupted *Saretan* to *Seredâta*, directive of *Seredah*, the name of an Ephraimite town (see note 40), but otherwise offers substantially the same text. The compiler of Kings, whom the Chronicler followed, has evidently made a mistake, transposing the towns; we should read, in all likelihood: "in the foundries of Succoth, between Adamah and Saretan." Succoth is to be located at Tell Deir-'allah, with the Talmudic tradition (Succoth = Dar'alah or Tar'alah), which is in strict accord with the biblical references and archaeological indications. But since this fine mound, situated at the point where the Jabbok emerges from the hills, is about eight miles north-north-east of Tell ed-Dâmîeh, it is Succoth which lies between Adamah and Saretan, not the reverse. Saretan must then be identified with one of the ruins lying about the mouth of Wâdi Kafrinjî or a little further north-say with Tell Sleihât, about ten miles north of Tell Deir-'allah. Eighteen miles north of ed-Dâmîeh is as far as we can place it, that is, far south of Beth-shan. In any case, Saretan was beyond Jordan, and cannot possibly be identified with Qarn Sarṭabeh, Talmudic Sarṭabâ.

Apparently the clause "as far as beyond Jokneam" was accidentally omitted, and later inserted at the end of the verse. The authority of Baana thus extended from the extreme northwestern end of the plain of Esdraelon through the entire length of the plain to Beth-shan, and down the Jordan Valley to the region of 'Ain el-Helweh.<sup>38</sup> The southern border of the district must have passed south of the plain, in order to include Taanach, presumably also Ibleam, and probably the whole of Gilboa, with its southern and western slopes, since the shape of the district would otherwise be most peculiar. The fifth district thus corresponded to northern and eastern cisjordanic Manasseh (using the term in its widest extent, as in Jos. 17 11), while the fourth district included western and southern Manasseh. We are unfortunately not told where Baana's capital was, but we may be reasonably safe in conjecturing that it was at Megiddo, the largest town in the district. It is quite probable that the palace of the tenth century B. C. at Megiddo, found by Schumacher and designated by him as Solomonic, was actually the seat of Solomon's son-in-law.

With the sixth district of Solomon we find ourselves transported across Jordan into Gilead. The statement concerning the organization of this district occurs in two forms, one in verse 13 and the other in 19. Hitherto it has been supposed that different districts were intended, but a mere comparison of the two passages will show that this can hardly be so. As a result of the duplication of the district of Gilead, naturally owing to the insertion of a marginal variant into the text at the end of the list, one other district, that of Judah (the most important of all!) has been disregarded, in order to preserve the number "twelve." The original text of our document may have read: "Geber son of Ūri (or Ūrî son of Geber) in Ramoth Gilead;

<sup>38</sup> Eusebius (*Onom.*, ed. Klostermann, p. 32) identifies Abel-meḥôlah with the village of Bethmaela, ten Roman miles south of Scythopolis. This is usually placed at the head of the Wâdi eš-Šerrâr (south of Beisân), where there are numerous ancient ruins, at the right distance from Beisân. The name 'Ain el-Helweh may or may not be a popular etymology of Meḥôlah. It may be added that the name Bethmaela = Bet-meḥôlah shows that the original name was Abel-bêt-meḥôlah like Abel-bêt-ma'kah; cf. also the doubles Bêt-ba'al-me'ôn, Bêt-me'ôn and Ba al-me'ôn for the same Moabite town, as well as numerous parallel cases. Hölscher's identification of Abel-meḥôlah with Tell el-Ḥammî is difficult both because the name is an ancient one going back to a Ḥammât (cf. Tell el-Ḥammî on the Yarmûk = Ḥammât of the Sethos and Assyrian texts, etc.) and because it is only eight miles from Beisân on a level and hence straight road (ZDPV XXXIII, 17).

he had the *hawwôt Ya'îr* and the region of Argob." As has been seen by the commentators, the additions which have been indicated above by parentheses are due to the Deuteronomic editor (cf. Deut. 3 4, etc.). No. 6b is erroneous in part, since the land of Sihon belonged to the seventh district. The capital of our district, Ramoth-Gilead, is modern er-Remteḥ in the northeastern corner of Gilead, as now generally recognized.

The seventh district is that of Mahanaim, southern Gilead. The site is not yet certainly known, though Dalman's identification with Tulûl ed-Dâhab is at present the most probable one.<sup>39</sup> Hirbet Maḥneh is hardly possible. Mahanaim was the capital of Ish-baal and later of David, during Absalom's revolt, so it was naturally chosen to be the administrative centre of southern Gilead. The border between the northern and southern districts may have been the Wâdî Yâbis and Jabesh-Gilead, about half-way between the respective capitals. On the south the district of Mahanaim doubtless extended as far as Israelite Gilead under Omri, according to the Mesha Stele—that is, 'Aṭarôt-'Aṭṭarûs north of Dibon. This would require a very respectable length of sixty miles in a straight line for this district, which corresponds to the tribal divisions of Gad and Reuben, while the sixth district represents the half tribe of Manasseh, with very vague boundaries, since *hawwôt Ya'îr* and Argob are little more than names to us. We may perhaps conjecture that the sixth district included northern 'Ajlûn, Jôlân and southwestern Haurân, as far as the borders of Geshur, Maachah and Beth-rehob.

The next three districts afford some ground for criticism. According to the extant form of our source no. 8 is Naphtali, no. 9 is Asher and 'Alôt (or Be'alôt), no. 10 is Issachar. Two difficulties at once present themselves. 'Alôt or Be'alôt is wholly unknown and exceedingly puzzling, while "Issachar" alone, with practically the entire plain of Esdraelon in the fifth district, becomes altogether too insignificant. On the other hand, Issachar and Naphtali together (with the little Danite settlement about Dan and Abel-beth-maachah) make a very well-rounded prefecture, since "Issachar" is thus reduced to a small district just south of Naphtali and with the same extension westward. One number may, therefore, be assigned to Naphtali and

<sup>39</sup> Cf. PJB IX, 68.

Issachar. The omission of the tribe of Zebulun from our list makes one suspect that no. 9 should be "Asher and Zebulun" instead of "Asher and (Be')alot," especially since Zebulun was also a small tribe, whose territory fitted just as well together with that of Asher as the reduced Issachar did with Naphtali. This leaves (Be')alôt in the air. Now, a Be'alôt is known in southern Judah (Jos. 15 24), listed with a group of towns in the extreme southeastern part of Judah, east of Simeon. Be'alôt is mentioned immediately after *טלם*, *Tlm*, which is probably to be identified with Saul's base of operations in his Amalekite campaign (1 Sam. 15 4) *הטלאים*, i. e. \**Tlm*, following most commentators. Since the section in question (around Arad and south) is one of the obscurest in the topography of ancient Palestine, we cannot locate Be'alôt exactly. We may suppose that the prefect in Be'alot governed Simeon as well as the southeastern extremity of Judah, and was thus in charge of the Negeb.

The eleventh prefecture was Benjamin, small but important because of its central position and nearness to the capital. Our list then closes with the words "and a prefect who was in the land of Judah," not even the name being given. To be sure, the end of the list may have been damaged. Yet the brevity of the final entries, dealing with districts which later passed into the hands of the southern king, makes one suspect that our document, beginning with Ephraim(!), originated in the northern kingdom. This suspicion is increased almost to certainty when we note (see below) that the district of western Manasseh (prefecture no. 3) seems to have been retained with little or no change until the reign of Ahab. The curious fact that two of the prefects are expressly said to have married daughters of Solomon, information apparently superfluous in such a list, perhaps has a political reason. It is probable that certain prefects succeeded in establishing hereditary houses, as so frequently in oriental states, both ancient and modern. Descent from Solomon was certainly a high honor, even in the northern kingdom, but only of importance politically in the case of a noble family with old prerogatives to maintain. One suspects, therefore, that the prefectures—whether real or titular—of Dor and Naphtali were handed down in the families of Solomon's officers, who were able to ingratiate themselves with Jeroboam and maintain their position.

If our results are correct, Solomon's division of the country into administrative districts was preserved with few changes, if any, by



Jeroboam I and his successors. Jeroboam I. (927—907 B. C.)<sup>40</sup> was a native of Šeredah, modern Hirbet el-Balāṭah above 'Ain Šeridah in west central Ephraim.<sup>41</sup> Šeredah did not, however, enjoy a central enough position to make it suitable for capital of Israel, so Jeroboam fortified Shechem and made it his residence. Shechem had the advantage of being the most holy site of Central Palestine, with some claim to be the seat of Hebrew royalty.<sup>42</sup> But its location was very poor for purposes of defense, a fact which probably led him to make Tirzah his capital, as we find was the case later in his reign.<sup>43</sup> As we have seen above, Tirzah must be located somewhere in southwestern Manasseh, probably just southwest of Shechem. Tirzah remained the capital for over a generation, until Omri transferred it to his new city Bêt-'Omri,<sup>44</sup> which continued to be called by its old name Šômerôn,<sup>45</sup> Aramaic Šâmerên,<sup>46</sup> while the official name was forgotten, and is never mentioned even once in the Old Testament. Note, however, that all three capitals are in the same administrative district of western Manasseh, which thus remained the centre of Israel, and was presumably administered by a kind of

<sup>40</sup> For this date cf. the writer's discussion to appear elsewhere. For the present we may refer to the excellent discussion by Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus*, pp. 154 ff., whose date of 929—909 B. C. must, however, be reduced two years, in the light of the reduction of the date of the battle of Qarqar from 854 to 852, required by the observations of Forrer, *MVAG* 1915, 3, 5—9, and Schnabel, *Berosos*, p. 206, footnote.

<sup>41</sup> For Šeredah = Hirbet el-Balāṭah cf. provisionally *Bulletin of the American Schools*, no. 11, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Sellin, *Gilgal*, pp. 14—21. The Benjamite, Saul, was probably crowned at Gilgal near Jericho, however. The existence of two historic Gilgals, one near Shechem, the other near Jericho, has led to much confusion in our biblical sources, as well as to a similar confusion in post-Christian times — e. g., an Ebal and Gerizim near Jericho, etc.

<sup>43</sup> 1 Kings 14 17.

<sup>44</sup> The Assyrians naturally did not invent the term *Bêt-Humri* for Samaria, which can only have received this name from the founder himself; cf. *Bulletin of the American Schools*, no. 4, p. 8 above.

<sup>45</sup> Properly "Watch-tower," or the like, German *Warte*. The hypothetical original owner of the hill, Shemer (1 Kings 16 24) is naturally an aetiological invention of tradition, as generally recognized.

<sup>46</sup> Assyr. *Samerina*, pronounced, of course *Šâmerên*, since Assyr. *s* was pronounced *š*, *i* = *i* and *e*, while the final short vowel was no longer pronounced. The literary Aramaic *Šâmerain* is only an artificial lack-formation for *Šâmerên*, like *Yerûšalain* for *Yerûšalêm*.

"mayor of the palace."<sup>47</sup> There can be little doubt that the shifts of capital were all conditioned by the requirements of military strength, and that strategic position with reference to the lines of communication had little to do with them.

Thanks to the recent publication by Reisner of the famous Hebrew ostraca from Samaria,<sup>48</sup> we are in a position to investigate the Israelite administrative system on the basis of contemporary documents, without being forced to resort to corrections of the text, or deductions from relatively late sources. Reisner's treatment is good, though he makes no serious effort to identify the place-names, which occur in the ostraca to the number of twenty-one. An excellent beginning in this direction was made by Père Abel (RB 1911, 292-93), but little could be done until the final publication of the original texts. Now we are in a position to identify nine place-names with certainty and several more plausibly, while most of the remaining places are also mentioned in the Old Testament.

On the basis of the illustrative texts translated by Lyon immediately after the discovery, Abel identified Yašit or Yašôt (יצת)<sup>49</sup> with modern Yašîd, northeast of Samaria; Qôšô (קצה)<sup>50</sup> with Quşein to the south; Šoftân (שפת)<sup>51</sup> with Šûfeh, west of Samaria;

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the Assyrian *nagîr ekalli*, whose rôle in Assyrian provincial administration was very similar.

<sup>48</sup> Reisner's publication is excellent in every respect. One wonders why he did not follow up Abel's lead, and identify the villages mentioned with their modern equivalents. Abel's paper is not even alluded to, so probably remained unknown to the editors.

<sup>49</sup> Reisner prefers the form *Yašôt*, which may be correct, since a parallel like 'Almôn - 'Alemet ('Almôt?) = Hirbet 'Almût suggests that final *ôt* may have become *it* in Hebrew place-names passing through Aramaic channels to Arabic. The *d* for Hebrew *t* is anomalous, and is perhaps due to an unclear popular etymology somewhere in the history of the name. Heb. *Salḥah* = Arab. *Ṣalḥad* may not be a parallel, since the Nabataean *Ṣlḥd* suggests that the similarity of names may be fortuitous.

<sup>50</sup> The vocalization *Qôšô* (Reisner: *Keṣeh*), like *Šôkô*, may be regarded as certain; the name is derived from *qôš*, "thorn." Arab. *Qūsein* stands for an Aramaic \**Qôšên* for Heb. \**Qôšôn*, by analogy, like *Madôn* - \**Mudên* - *Madîn*, *Ma'ôn* - \**Ma'ên* - *Ma'in*, *Šômerôn* - *Šâmerên*, etc. Heb. \**Qôšôn* is a metaplastic form derived by analogy from the gentilic \**Qôšônî*, like *Šlô*, *Šlônî*, modern *Seilûn*, etc.

<sup>51</sup> *Šoftân* (Reisner: *Shifatan*) is the probably correct vocalization, like *qorbân*, *šulḥân*, etc., where the dissimilatory tendency prevented the long *a* of the ending from being obscured to *ô*. \**Šoftân* perhaps became \**Šoftâ* in Aramaic, the same

Azâ (אזה)<sup>52</sup> with Zawâtâ, to the south; and Šarûr, Šarôr, or the like (שרר)<sup>53</sup> with Ĥirbet Deir Serûr, to the west. Hat-tell, "the mound," he identified with Till (i. e., Aram. *tillâ*, "mound") southwest of Shechem, also mentioned in the ostraca, but this must be considered more doubtful. I am able to add the following certain identifications: Hašerôt (הצרת) = 'Ašîret el-Haṭab,<sup>54</sup> east of Zawâtâ; Almatôn (אלמתן) = Amâtîn,<sup>55</sup> west of Till. Some identifications require no mention, such as Shechem = Nâblus, Geba' = Jeba', and Abî'ezer = the district of Ophrah = Tell Far'ah. I would further suggest the following more doubtful combinations: א[ת-פראן] = Ĥirbet Beit Fâr,<sup>56</sup> southeast of Tell Far'ah; Yôšeb(?)<sup>57</sup> = Kefr Sib near Šuweikeh.

When we apply these identifications to the elucidation of our material (succinctly presented in tabular form by Reisner on

analogy operating in Aramaic place-names in *ân* as in Hebrew *ôn* names. \**Softâ* was naturally regarded by the Arabs as possessing the Aram. feminine ending (*e*)*tâ* = Arab. *atun* = mod. *eh*, so \**Softâ* became \**Šûfeh*, since the Arabs did not then have an *ô*. The name is presumably an adjectival derivative from Heb. \**šofet* = Aram. *tôfet*, "dung, debris" (Heb. *šefôt*, Arab. *tāfaṭ* for \**tafat*), in which the final *t* is a stem consonant, contrary to the view which has erroneously obtained hitherto (the Arabic equivalent remaining unknown).

<sup>52</sup> *Azâh* perhaps had a doublet \**Azôt* in the plural, as so commonly in old Hebrew and Aramaic place-names. The Aramaeans then etymologized the name as \**Zawâtâ*, "corners," which had to become *Zawâtâ* in Arabic. Again we must emphasize the fact that many Arabic place-names cannot be philologically understood unless we trace them from Hebrew through Aramaic into Arabic.

<sup>53</sup> Reisner reads שרק, which he transcribes *Sherek*, but this word would have to be pronounced *Sôreq*, a good Hebrew place-name. The final letter is half missing in no. 42 and entirely gone in no. 48, but if the facsimile of the former is correct it is clearly a *rêš*, as transcribed originally by Lyon. The modern place-name *Ĥirbet Deir Serûr* confirms this impression.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Gederôt* and *Gederal*; the *Gederal* of Benjamin has become *Jedîreh*. For the initial *'ayin* for *ha* cf. *Bêt-hôrôn* *Beit-ûr*, *Ḥašôr-Ašûr*, *Hôlôn-Âlîn*, *Anaḥerat* (*Anḥôret*?)—*en-Na'ûrah*, etc. This interchange is due to partial assimilation, since *'ayin* and *ha* are corresponding voiced and voiceless sounds. The opposite change is also very common.

<sup>55</sup> The *l* has been lost by a dissimilatory tendency favored by the nasalizing influence of the *m*; *n* and *l* interchange regularly in Arabic in the presence of *m* (*malîḥ* = *mnîḥ*, etc.). Reisner's reading *El-Mattan* is naturally out of the question. For Heb. *ôn* = Arab. *în* cf. note 50.

<sup>56</sup> For \**Par'ân* = *Fâr* cf. *Gib'ôn* = *Jîb*, *Bêt-hôrôn* = *Beit-ûr*.

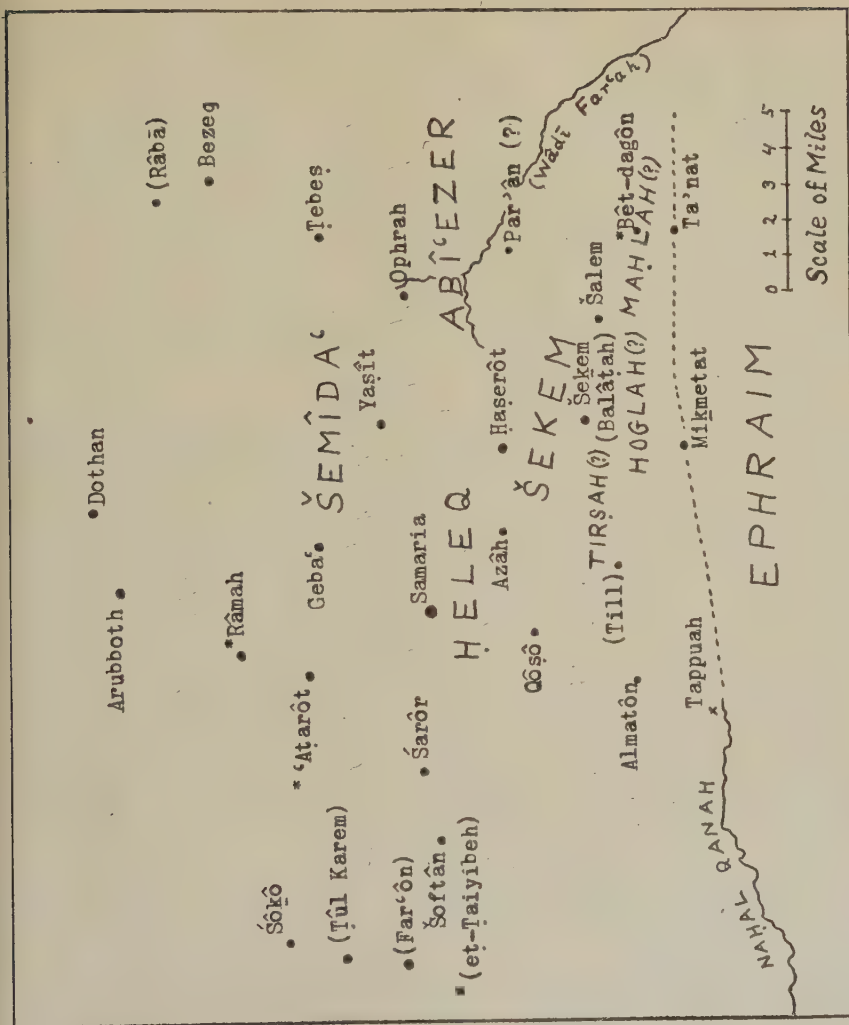
<sup>57</sup> The impf. *hiṭ'îl* has seemed to be the most plausible form. Imperfects used as substantives in proper names usually appear in the jussive form, as the writer will show in a paper on *Yahweh-Yahu* to appear in JBL.

pp. 229—230), several facts become evident at once. The person first named on each ostrakon has a definitely marked sphere of activity. Thus, Gaddiyô figures in the chief place in connection with shipments of oil and wine from Qôşô, Azâh, Ḥaşerôt and Şaq. Shipments from these places do not concern any of the other persons mentioned in the first place. Since Quşein, Zawâtâ and 'Aşireh form a homogeneous group of villages,<sup>58</sup> athwart the road from Shechem, to Samaria, they are clearly part of a single district. Aḥîno'am, again, is connected only with the district of Geba' and Yaşit, located by the modern villages of Jeba' and Yaşid, northeast of Samaria. No one else has anything to do with these towns. Our material is unfortunately too limited in extent to furnish us full details; Ba'alzamar is represented by only one ostrakon, connecting him with the district of Şoftân-Şûfeh, and Yeda'yô is similarly associated with Şarûr-Deir Serûr. Besides these men, who are thus connected with villages or groups of villages, there are others associated with shipments from entire clans or tribal subdivisions. Thus Aḥîmâ has to do with Şemîda' (five ostraca), though Şemîda' was large enough to require the services also of Ḥeleş (ben) Afşah (one ostrakon) and of Ḥeleş (ben) Gaddiyô (five). Aşâ(?) Aḥîmelek, however, deals with Ḥeleq (six numbers), and with Şemîda' and Abî'ezer (one each) as well. Finally there is Şemaryô, with Abî'ezer (one ostrakon) and three towns, A[ ]t-par'ân, *hat-tell*, and Be'er-yam (Be'erâyim?)<sup>59</sup> presumably within the borders of Abî'ezer, especially if the first is Ḥirbet Beit Fâr, as suggested above, and the third is the Be'er of Jud. 9 21, where the Abiezrite Jotham sought refuge from his half-brother Abimelech. In view of the fact that the persons mentioned were not, to judge from the fact that the ostraca were all found in the store-rooms of Ahab's palace, private persons, there is only one possible explanation for the phenomena just noted—they were deputy

<sup>58</sup> This fact shows that Azâh cannot be ez-Zâwieh, to the north, as I thought first, and that Ḥaşerôt cannot be 'Aşîret el-Qibliyeh, to the south.

<sup>59</sup> Reisner's *Be'er-yam*, "West Well," is rather improbable, though possible. Since *be'er* is feminine, we may perhaps take the name as a dual, like modern Arabic *Bîrein*, a common place-name. I may add that I have been tempted to identify 'Ofrah of Abî'ezer with et-Taîyibeh south of Tûl Karem, since two other biblical 'Ofrahs also appear as Taîyibet el-Isim (εὐταίβητος) = et-Taîyibeh. In this case Par'ân is Far'ôn south of Tûl Karem, since "Pharaoh" is clearly a popular etymology of an older name. All this is, however, more than doubtful.





tax collectors, whose business it was to gather the royal revenues of the Samaria district. It can thus not be accidental that the districts and towns mentioned on these ostraca are all from the Solomonic prefecture of western Manasseh, as already noted above.

Reisner has rendered the characteristic formula of the ostraca as follows: "In the———year. Sent from (a place) to (a person). A jar of wine (or oil). To be credited to (a second person or persons)." Since the tax collectors must have gathered the wine and

oil themselves, this translation of the first  $\bar{\text{b}}$  is improbable. We should simply render: "From (a place). Business of (tax collector's name). To be credited to (name of person or persons from whom the deputy received the taxes, either local officials or tax farmers)." The preposition  $\bar{\text{b}}$  is frequently used in this sense (cf. Gesenius-Buhl<sup>15</sup> p. 367a below). Reisner has not distinguished with sufficient clearness between the two categories of persons mentioned in the ostraca, first the royal officers, who serve for several towns or for districts, and are so well known that their town is never specified, and secondly the local dignitaries or tax farmers, whose duty it was to prepare the way for the deputy.

As observed above, the ostraca are too few in number—belonging, moreover, to scattered years (ninth, tenth and fifteenth of Ahab, cir. 871—852 B. C.)<sup>60</sup>—to enable us to draw a complete picture of the fiscal organization of an Israelite prefecture. Yet we may locate at least the principal sub-districts of western Manasseh in the time of Ahab. Of the ten tribal divisions of cisjordanic Manasseh mentioned in the Bible (cf. above), six figure in the ostraca: Shechem, Abîezer, Šemîda, Ĥeleq, No'ah and Ĥoglah. Of these Shechem and Abîezer require no further elucidation, while No'ah and Ĥoglah, as subdivisions of Hepher (cf. above), belong probably southwest of Shechem. If it were certain that "Shechem" is to be supplied on ostrakon 43, as plausibly suggested by Reisner,<sup>61</sup> it would follow that Ĥoglah belongs in the immediate neighborhood of Shechem, since the name of Ĥanan (Ba'râ) occurs on two ostraca from Ĥoglah as well as on no. 43. In this case No'ah may have lain farther to the west, beyond Tirzah (see above). Ĥeleq can be located with considerable probability south and southwest of Samaria, perhaps originally including the site of the later capital. No less than three or four of the persons to whose credit the taxes received from Ĥeleq (nos. 22—26) are placed are stated to be from Ĥašerôt. Since this number is too large, comparatively speaking, to be accidental, Ĥašerôt must have been located in the district of Ĥeleq. All these ostraca are dated in the fifteenth year, while the ostraca of Gaddiyô from Qôšô, Azâh and Ĥašerôt are from the ninth and tenth years; it is, therefore,

<sup>60</sup> Kugler: 873—854, but cf. note 40 above.

<sup>61</sup> No. 43 fits on no. 44, which actually bears the name "Shechem."

likely that these three towns were in Heleq, but that Gaddiyó was replaced by Aśà (?) Ahimelek between the tenth and the fifteenth years. For the situation of Šemida' a hint may perhaps be drawn from the fact that the tax collector for Heleq was also (as supervisor?) entrusted with business in Abi'ezer and Šemida', a fact which suggests that the latter lay between the other two, perhaps around Tallûzah. We have as yet no means of knowing the clan to which Šoftân or Geba' and Yašit belonged—possibly to Heleq or Šemida', since they are near the towns already discussed.<sup>62</sup>

Below, in connection with the administrative organization of Judah, it will be shown that the taxes in wine and oil from each district were collected at the capital of the district, from which they were either dispatched to Jerusalem, or distributed at the order of the central government. The same system may have prevailed in Israel, though there is no way to prove its existence. It is, however, interesting to note that Samaria was at the same time capital of the land and of the district, just as was then the case with Jerusalem—and is today.

While the eight prefectures of Solomon in Central and Northern Palestine were apparently retained—the ninth district, Dan, was divided—under Jeroboam and his successors, the extent of the Northern Kingdom decreased considerably. The Syrians of Damascus conquered all of Argob and Bashan, as far as the Yarmûq, and Ahab lost his life in defending the capital of northern Gilead—Ramoth, modern Remteħ. After Ahab's death the Moabites revolted, reconquering northern Moab, including Medeba and Nebo. The important port of Dor probably was lost to Israel about this time, though Israel appears to have kept a foothold on the coast down to the fall of Samaria. At all events, the Israel which finally fell

<sup>62</sup> Additional details for the geographical distribution of the Manassite clans may be found in 1 Chr. 7, discussed above in note 28. Abi'ezer and Maħlah appear as brother and sister, a fact suggesting that Maħlah may have been situated farther east than the other clans of Hephher, perhaps in the region of Šalem and \*Bêt-dagôn (modern Šalim and Beit Dejan), south of Wâdi Far'ah, where Abi'ezer is in all probability to be located. Shechem is the son of Semida', which accords well with the apparent deduction from the ostraca. We must naturally employ this genealogical material with caution for geographical purposes, since the traditional relationships of clans and tribes do not always follow geographical lines.

into the hands of the Assyrians, in 733–721 B. C., was very much smaller than that which Jeroboam had begun to rule. The Assyrians created four prefectures, Šâmerên or Samaria,<sup>63</sup> Magidô or Megiddo,<sup>64</sup> Gal'az-Gil'ad,<sup>65</sup> and Du'ru-Dor, on the ruins of the Northern Kingdom, corresponding to four prefectures of Damascus, situated in Qarnên-Qarnâyim,<sup>66</sup> Haurên-Haurân,<sup>67</sup> Damascus, and Šôbat-Zobah.<sup>68</sup> In which province northern Galilee was included is not clear; it may first have been divided between Megiddo and Zobah, while after the creation of the province of Tyre (Dûr-Bêl-Harrân-šadû'a)<sup>69</sup> it was presumably assigned to the prefect of Tyre. Since the Assyrian provincial organization is well sketched by Forrer, in the valuable treatise above referred to, we need not go into further details here.

As we have seen, Judah emerged from Jeroboam's rebellion with only three and a half of Solomon's administrative districts: Judah, Benjamin, Be'alôt and half of Dan. The division into four districts was probably retained for some time, but in the eighth century we find that a fifth district had been added, that of Ziph. The Jerusalem district now has the old prefecture of Benjamin, and presumably the northeastern part of Judah. The Hebron district probably corresponds to the Solomonic prefecture of Judah, considerably reduced. The Socoh district includes the Judæan Shephelah and thus corresponds to the old prefecture of Dan, with a southward extension. The old prefecture of the Negeb, with capital at Be'alôt, is now the district

<sup>63</sup> Written generally *Sa-me(mi)-ri-na*; see note 45.

<sup>64</sup> Written *Ma-ga-du-u* or *Ma-gi-du-u*; *u* and *o* are not distinguished in the Assyrian script.

<sup>65</sup> Written *Gal'a-za*; see Forrer, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Hebrew spirated *d* (*ḏ*) had to be written *d* or *z* in Assyrian. Aramaic *ḏ* is usually transcribed *d* in Assyrian and *z* in Phoenician, i. e., *Melûl-Mlz*, while *Hadad-ezer* = *Adad-idri*, both for *Hadad-idr*, is rather a case of etymological substitution.

<sup>66</sup> Written *Qar-ni-ni*.

<sup>67</sup> Generally written *Ta-u-ri-na*.

<sup>68</sup> Written *Su-bat*, *Šu-bi-ti*, *Su-pi-te*, *Su-bu-tu*, etc. Zobah probably included the southern Biqâ' from south of Ḥasbêyâ to north of Ba'albek, as well as the country to the east as far as into the Syrian desert. We need not doubt that Hadad-ezer's boundary actually reached the Euphrates, though in a rather vague way, doubtless. Zobah seems to have risen on the ruins of the old Amorite state and to have claimed the same borders.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Forrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 66f.



of Mamšat (Mampsis-Qurnub),<sup>70</sup> while the region of Arad and Ziph (with Beersheba?) has become a separate district with its capital at Ziph, southeast of Hebron.

The source of this information is naturally the well-known series of jar handles with royal stamps in Old Hebrew characters, containing the inscription: "Belonging to the king (occasionally omitted). Hebron (Socoh, Ziph, Mamšat)." Since the first discovery of jar handles bearing these stamps at Jerusalem during Warren's excavations, they have turned up in every excavation of a pre-exilic Jewish site (except Tell el-Ḥesî), as well as on the surface of mounds abandoned after the exile.<sup>71</sup> They have been discovered at Jerusalem,<sup>72</sup> Gezer,<sup>73</sup> Jericho,<sup>74</sup> Gibeah (Tell el-Fûl),<sup>75</sup> Azekah (Tell Zakarîyah), Mareshah (Tell Sandahanna), Tell eš-Šâfî (Makkedah),<sup>76</sup> Gederah (? Tell ej-Judeideh), Gederoth (? Tell ed-Duweir) and Shilhim (? Tell el-Ḥuweilfeh). Yet not one has been found in Philistine or Israelite sites; all occur within the borders of pre-exilic Judah, a fact which naturally proves that they were characteristically Jewish, since considerably over a hundred have been discovered—probably over a hundred and fifty, since the number found at Gezer was fairly large. No parallel has been established between the provenance of the jar handle and the place of its discovery. Mamšat stamps occur as far

<sup>70</sup> That Mamšat is the Roman Mampsis was first suggested by Hommel, *Expository Times*, 1901, p. 288, and the identification was adopted by Driver, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible*, London, 1909, p. 74, n. 5, among others. The remark ascribed to Clermont-Ganneau in Chabot's *Répertoire*, vol. III, p. 51 (no. 1243) is a tissue of error and misprints; the old identifications with Mareshah or with the (different) town of Moresheth-gath are impossible, and the cuneiform spelling is *Muḫrašti* or *Muṛašti*, not *Mumurašti*. For the identification of Mampsis with Qurnub, happily proposed by R. Hartmann, cf. this *Journal*, vol. IV, p. 153, n. 1.

<sup>71</sup> Tell ed-Duweir and Tell el-Ḥuweilfeh (cf. *Bulletin of the American Schools*, no. 15). That these mounds were abandoned after their destruction by the Babylonians follows from the character of the pottery (second phase of the Iron Age, no Persian).

<sup>72</sup> Greville Chester in *Recovery of Jerusalem*, London, 1871, pp. 473-74; Vincent, *Jérusalem sous terre*, plate XIII.

<sup>73</sup> Macalister, *Gezer*, vol. II, pp. 209-10.

<sup>74</sup> Sellin, *Jericho*, p. 158.

<sup>75</sup> In the excavations of the American School there—a Mamšat stamp.

<sup>76</sup> For this and the following identifications I must refer to a forthcoming monograph on the topography of Judah. I no longer believe that eš-Šâfî is Libnah.

north as Jerusalem and Gibeah in Benjamin; Socoh stamps have been found at Jerusalem and Jericho; Hebron stamps occur practically everywhere. It may be noted, however, that Socoh stamps are the most common, probably because nearly all excavations in Judah have been made in the Shephelah.

Since there has been a great deal of discussion regarding the age and purpose of these jar stamps, and the latest views advanced differ radically among themselves, it will be necessary to go into the question with more detail.<sup>77</sup> It is not worth while devoting space to a recapitulation of the theories first proposed by Chester, Conder and others; we shall limit ourselves to a consideration of the views of Clermont-Ganneau, Macalister and other scholars of authority. Macalister originally held a view, both in respect to the date and the purpose of the stamps, with which mine agrees almost exactly; since then he has unfortunately seen fit to change his attitude on both points.

As a result of their first discoveries, while excavating the mounds of the Shephelah, Bliss and Macalister dated the handles to about 650—500 B. C.,<sup>78</sup> a date endorsed by Vincent, who attributed them to the seventh century B. C. (*Canaan*, pp. 359 f.). Macalister later dated the handles in the eighth and seventh centuries,<sup>79</sup> but in *Gezer* (vol. II, p. 210) he retracted his position, stating that the archaeological context in which the handles were found was that of the Persian period. This conclusion, supported by Macalister's authority, may seem definitive, but I venture to reject it most emphatically. In general Macalister's dating of the Gezer pottery is much less satisfactory than Bliss and Macalister's earlier dating of the Shephelah finds.<sup>80</sup> There is especially a growing tendency to date certain classes of Jewish pottery later and later. Thus Macalister dates the Jewish water-decanter to the Persian and Seleucidan period only, though Mackenzie correctly placed his tombs at Bethshemesh with water-decanter in the late pre-exilic period. The

<sup>77</sup> An almost complete bibliography is given by Chabot, *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, tome III, pp. 47—48 (no. 1242).

<sup>78</sup> *Excavations in Palestine*, pp. 115 f.

<sup>79</sup> QS 1905, pp. 243—53, 328—42 (*The Craftsmen's Guild of the Tribe of Judah*).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Vincent, RB XI (1914), 386 ff.

question will be discussed fully in the present writer's publication of the excavations at Tell el-Fûl. So far as our experience goes, the jar handles under discussion appear only in a late pre-exilic stratum,<sup>81</sup> just as Bliss and Macalister originally concluded, on the basis of much more reliable stratigraphic material than was available in Gezer, where it proved impossible for one man to distinguish clearly between the complicated deposits of successive ages. Macalister is mistaken in supposing that ribbing first appears on handles of the Persian period; at Gibeah we found it appearing first in the second phase of the Early Iron Age, along with ring-burnished ware. It is, however, quite true that ribbed handles do not completely drive out the older type with a smooth oval section until the Persian period. The paste used in the Persian period is, moreover, much freer of foreign particles (limestone and quartz) than it is in the late pre-exilic period; practically all of our handles are not only ribbed (i. e., relatively late), but also full of minute white particles (i. e., relatively early). Archaeologically speaking, the handles belong to the period between the eighth and the sixth centuries, and a date between 750 and 590 B. C., such as I should propose for other reasons, is eminently satisfactory. This is also the only reasonable epigraphic date for our stamps, since their ductus is characteristically pre-exilic. It is true that it is somewhat later than the script of the Moabite Stone and other Hebrew-Phoenician lapidary monuments from the ninth century, but it resembles that of the Siloam inscription closely. The ostraca from Samaria, though from the middle of the ninth century, are cursive, so their striking resemblance to the jar stamps, with respect to ductus, only shows again that the cursive of one century tends to become the lapidary of the next, while the cursive of the latter has developed another step. If, on the other hand, we compare the script of Aramaic monuments and seals of the Persian period, we find a radically different form of characters, belonging with Teimā and the inscriptions of 'Arâq el-Emir.<sup>82</sup> A very good illustration of this ductus is furnished by the seal impressions from Jericho, containing the divine name *Yâhû*. Pilcher's effort to date the royal jar stamps in the Persian period for epigraphic reasons is

<sup>81</sup> Observations at Tell el-Fûl, Tell ed-Duweir and Tell el-Huweilfeh.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. the useful material collected by Vincent, JPOS III, 55-68.

so palpably out of the question that his results have not been accepted by any epigrapher.<sup>83</sup>

There are two chief views concerning the purpose of the royal jar stamps: 1. They designate the location of the royal potteries where the stamp was made; 2. They designate the town or district from which taxes in kind were levied for the king. Naturally there are a number of modifications and compromises which have been suggested by various scholars, the most important of whose suggestions may be sketched briefly here. The first theory seems to owe its origin to a suggestion of Sayce, and was later adopted by Père Vincent,<sup>84</sup> with modifications derived mainly from Clermont-Ganneau. There is one objection to the royal pottery theory which seems uncontrovertible, as noted by Macalister, who justly observes:—"In modern Palestine there are potteries at Ramleh, Jerusalem, Gaza, and other centres. The clay and the technique at all these places possess so many peculiarities that very little practice is needed to be able to distinguish at a glance the work of each town. The modern analogy suggests that, had there been potteries at the places named, their work would have been distinguishable by criteria other than the stamps impressed upon them. This is not the case, however; a Hebron handle and a Shocoh handle are always so much alike that they might have belonged to the same vessel. Such identity of type and material is a physical impossibility if the handles come from different manufactories."<sup>85</sup> The present writer heartily endorses this judgment, and agrees respecting the identity of wares in about a score of such handles which he has examined himself. Another argument against the royal pottery theory is not so serious; the absence of different types of vessels, all being precisely similar, may be explained with Vincent as due to the fact that these vases represented current measures of capacity, used especially in paying the royal taxes in kind, but also employed to facilitate other business transactions. This is almost certainly correct, but the names of towns on the stamps cannot refer to the factories where they were made, for the excellent reasons brought forward by Macalister. The second theory,

<sup>83</sup> *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Archaeology*, 1910, pp. 93—101, 143—152.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Vincent, *Canaan*, pp. 358—60.

<sup>85</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 241f.



which is upheld in this paper, was advanced by Clermont-Ganneau and his pupil, Daveluy,<sup>86</sup> but was best formulated by Macalister, who thought that the cities "were the centres of districts in which were collected the dues in kind of the surrounding villages" (*Excavations in Palestine*, p. 114). Scholars generally rejected this view, and Macalister himself gave it up, when the increasing number of royal jar handles found proved conclusively that only four towns were mentioned on their stamps, since the number of important towns of Judah was naturally much greater. The possibility that the number of administrative districts was comparatively small, and that these towns were their capitals was dismissed because "the three known towns [Mamšat was not then identified] are not well placed to be the centres of fiscal areas, and there are many parts of the kingdom of Judah (such as the entire territory of Benjamin) which they could not serve in the capacity suggested."<sup>87</sup> These objections are not valid, as will be seen.

Before passing on it may be well to consider a third view briefly—that of Macalister himself.<sup>88</sup> No one else seems to have adopted it, but it is so ingenious and suggestive that it at least deserves serious examination.<sup>89</sup> Concluding from the arguments which he marshalled that none of the older theories were tenable, he proposed a new one: the supposed names of towns are in reality names of the royal potters themselves, and belong to the heads of the potters' guild. He started with the enigmatic verse 1 Chr. 4 23, to which Clermont-Ganneau had called attention, and connected it with 1 Chr. 2 9, 18-20, 42; 4 16-23, which he explained as a genealogy of the craftsmen's guild. The towns Hebron, Socoh and Ziph he explained as persons, while "Mareshah" should, he considered, be corrected to "Memshath." It is indeed curious that all these names should occur in the passages in question, but since these towns were the most important ones in late pre-exilic Judah, there is no occasion for astonishment. The emendation of Mareshah to Mamšat is out of the question. In view of the fact that scores of Jewish towns are mentioned along with

<sup>86</sup> *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, tome IV, pp. 1—24.

<sup>87</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 245.

<sup>88</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>89</sup> Against it cf. also Driver, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible*, London, 1909, p. 77.

personal names in these chapters of Chronicles, while most of the other names are either certainly old clan names, like Jerahmeel, or may be regarded as such on the analogy of the genealogy of Manasseh (cf. above), no scholar could now accept Macalister's idea. His further attempt to identify the names occurring in private seal stamps on jar handles of a similar type with names in Chronicles, by the aid of assumptions and emendations, is very improbable, since the same personal name may have belonged to hundreds of prominent Jews of the last two centuries (eight generations) before the exile. Even a name with patronymic, like "Shebaniah son of Azariah," may be like "William Jones" or "Max Müller," whose bearers may be counted by thousands. Since Macalister himself surrendered his chronology later in favor of a date in the post-exilic age, he evidently considered the association of his genealogy with pre-exilic history as baseless. The chronology, however, is the one point which seems to the writer well-founded.

There can be no doubt that the verse 1 Chr. 4 23 is extremely interesting, and is probably of importance for our subject, as suggested by Clermont-Ganneau. It reads as follows: המה היוצרים וישבי נמעים וגררה עם המלך במלאכתו ישובו שם (omit "and") dwelt in Neṭa'im<sup>90</sup> and Gederah—with the king—in his work—there they dwelt." Something is wrong with the latter part of the verse, which is syntactically awkward and curiously disjointed; perhaps a clause has dropped out of the middle. The two town names "Neṭa'im and Gederah" are rendered "plants and hedges" in the AV. Gederah is probably Tell ej-Judeideh, as suggested above; Neṭa'im, hitherto regarded as unintelligible, is simply the name of a village, properly "Plantations" (cf. Ar. *Mezra'ah*) and is almost certainly to be identified with modern Ḥirbet en-Nuweitī, four miles north of Tell ej-Judeideh.<sup>91</sup> Since the verse is now isolated, and certainly has no connection with the immediately preceding section, we must look elsewhere for its context. Nor is the latter

<sup>90</sup> The Αἵαρι of GB and the Αραρι of GA both stand for *Nara'ari* after ἐν.

<sup>91</sup> The Survey spells *Nuweitīh* (نوبيطية), but there should be an 'ayin at the end; final *ha* and 'ayin are often very hard to distinguish (cf. note 92). *Nuweitī* is a diminutive of \**Nawātī* (lit. "those who leave food after toying with it"), a popular etymology of an Aramaic \**Nattā'in* for Heb. *Neṭā'im*. Bliss's *Nuweitīf* is certainly wrong (QS 1900, p. 96).

hard to find, since the only possible section is the one next preceding, which deals with the clan ancestry of Gederah (so naturally for Gedor, which has been copied from verse 4 4, where Gedor = Ḥirbet Jedûr is certainly referred to), Socoh and Zanoah,<sup>92</sup> as well as Keilah (Ḥirbet Qîleh), all of which are situated in the same district of the central Shephelah. Gederah is only about six miles from Socoh (Ḥirbet Šuweikeh),<sup>93</sup> and Neṭa'im is only three. There can be no doubt that the district was chosen for the royal potteries because of its superior clay, which led Père Vincent to favor the theory that Socoh and Mareshah (with which Mamšat was then identified) were themselves royal pottery centres.<sup>94</sup> Since the records preserved in Chronicles date almost entirely from the last two centuries of the pre-exilic state, we may consider it highly probable that our jars stamped with the royal seal were made by the potters resident at Gederah and Neṭa'im (and neighboring villages?). In passing, it is curious that Bliss and Macalister discovered more than twice as many stamped handles at Tell ej-Judeideh as elsewhere in the mounds of the Shephelah.

Now we may turn to consider the rôle of the jars themselves in the system of taxation and revenue in vogue in the Southern Kingdom. Clermont-Ganneau has well compared various passages in the Old Testament, especially Ez. 45 14-16, where the prophet prescribes the tithe of oil (with grain, animals, etc.) which the people should pay to the future prince of Judah. Ezekiel's conception of the state was theocratic, but he naturally got his idea from the fiscal organization of pre-exilic Judah. Hezekiah built storehouses in Jerusalem in which to store the levies of grain, wine and oil which came to the capital.<sup>95</sup> These storehouses naturally correspond to the storehouse attached to Ahab's palace, where the ostraca of Samaria were found, referring, as we have seen, to payment of taxes in oil and wine. Now we can understand why there are no royal stamps which belong in the northeastern part of the Jewish state. The oil and

<sup>92</sup> The *fellāḥîn* of Beit Neṭṭîf pronounce clearly *Zenûḥ*, not *Zānû*.

<sup>93</sup> For the site of Socoh cf. the remarks in *Bulletin of the American Schools*, no. 15; the site seems certain.

<sup>94</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 360.

<sup>95</sup> 2 Chr. 32 28.

wine which were delivered at the capital from the district belonging directly to it were stored in the royal *miskenôt*, under direct royal supervision. On the other hand, the oil and wine which was collected in the other four districts were placed in officially gauged jars—after being delivered at the district capitals, of course—and stored in the *miskenôt* of Hebron, Socoh, Ziph and Mamšat. Grain was also levied, but was presumably handled in baskets. When the oil and wine were required, either for use in Jerusalem, for storage in garrison towns and outlying forts (2 Chr. 11 6-11) or for export, they were shipped in the same jars in which they had been sealed originally. After being emptied the jars might be used for any purpose, and very probably had a wide circulation as standard measures of capacity, a supposition which would explain the fact that they are found all over Judah.

It is impossible to know with certainty what king of Judah introduced this system of royal stamps, but we may safely ascribe the introduction either to Uzziah (Azariah) or to Hezekiah. In favor of the former is the undoubted fact that he developed the country greatly during his long reign (779[so]—738 B. C.). 2 Chr. 26 10 states that Uzziah built numerous mighdals in the desert, to protect his cattle (and trade-routes), and that he was very much interested in the development of agriculture and animal husbandry. There is no reason to doubt the essential accuracy of the Chronicler's information regarding such recent times, comparatively speaking. We also learn, both from Kings and Chronicles, that Uzziah recaptured Elath, the Red Sea port, which had presumably been lost during the Edomite revolt. This means that he was also interested in the restoration of the trade by which Judah had profited so greatly since the reign of Solomon. We may therefore regard it as probable that Uzziah reorganized the fiscal system of Judah. On the other hand, Hezekiah is said to have built store-houses in Jerusalem in order to serve as repositories of taxes in kind (see above), so he may have introduced the new system of checking and storing revenue. In any case, the royal jar stamps do not appear until the eighth century, probably not until after the middle of the century (750 B. C.).

The question as to their relative antiquity is difficult, Macalister formerly wished to date the Mamšat and Ziph handles in 817—798,



while the Hebron and Socoh stamps he referred to 734—719.<sup>96</sup> It is, however, quite certain that the stamps from the different towns are contemporary. Yûsif Kan'an's belief that more Socoh handles had been picked up on the surface of the tells where he had worked than any other kind is, no doubt correct, since the Socoh handles were much the most frequent in occurrence, but Macalister's deduction that these handles were the latest was hardly justified.<sup>97</sup> On the other hand we seem to be justified in considering the seals with the four-winged scarab as older than those with the flying roll,<sup>98</sup> because the handles on which the former are stamped are nearly always less markedly ribbed; as noted above, the ribbing of handles begins to appear in the second phase of the Early Iron Age (900—600) and becomes most marked in the third phase (Persian period).

In conclusion it will be interesting to compare the Jewish administrative districts which we have recovered with the toparchies of the Herodian and Roman Judaea, as defined by Klein in the valuable paper already referred to. By a careful comparison of all the material extant in Josephus, Pliny and especially the Talmud, he shows that the greater Judaea of that time possessed eleven toparchies (פלכים), four of which—Gophna, Acrabattene, Thamna and Jericho—were not counted in Judaea proper, to which the remaining seven districts belonged. The toparchy of Lydda was also outside the limits of the ancient state, so only six are left for comparison: The Mountain (Jerusalem), Emmaus ('Amwâs), Beth-netophah (Beit Netţif), Herodium (Jebel Furdeis), En-gedi ('Ein Jedî) and Edom. Only three districts remain with the same centre: Jerusalem, Hebron (capital of Edom)<sup>99</sup> and Beth-netophah, which is only two miles from the ancient Socoh. The centre of gravity has shifted northward, owing to the development of the Nabataean state, later Palaestina Tertia, so the three districts of Mamšat, Ziph and

<sup>96</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 338.

<sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 251f.

<sup>98</sup> Hardly winged solar disk; for the flying roll as a familiar symbol cf. Zech. 5 1-4. It may easily be a modification of the former, however.

<sup>99</sup> Contrast Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 38f. I would suggest that אילת as the southern boundary of Jerusalem corresponds to the Terebinth (Haram Râmet el-Ḥalîl), where there was a famous shrine and market Τερεβινθος, Talmudic שוק של אילות or בית אילות (cf. Bacher, ZATW 1909, 221; Klein, ZDPV 1910, 39f.).

Hebron are replaced by Edom and En-gedi, though part of the old Hebronite district was absorbed by the new toparchy of Herodium. Klein remarks justly that the administrative organization of Judaea seems to have changed comparatively little from the Maccabaeen period to the Roman; it is probable that if we had a complete record the gradual character of the change would be still more evident. Names and political divisions changed but slowly in the ancient East; the inertia of habit and tradition was very great.

## THE CUTHITES AND PSALM 74

M. ELIASH  
(JERUSALEM)

AN early Mishna in *Rosh-Hashana* II 2, tells us that the sanctification of the new moon was announced "at the beginning" (בראשונה) by the lighting of beacons, and that since the Cuthites caused trouble (משקלקלו הכותים) the sending of emissaries to distant communities was instituted. The Cuthites caused trouble by lighting beacons on the hills on some nights preceding and following the new moon, or by lighting the beacons when the new moon was not sanctified but the preceding month extended by one day, thus misleading the Jews. This is the text of the Mishna:

בראשונה היו משיאין משואות. משקלקלו הכותים התקינו שיהו שלוחין יוצאין. כיצד היו משיאין משואות: מביאין כלונסאות של ארז ארוכין וקנים ועצי שמן... ועולה לראש ההר ומצית בהן את האור ומוליך ומביא ומעלה ומוריד עד שהוא רואה... כל הגולה לפניו כמדורת האש.

What is the approximate date of the trouble of the Cuthites? That the emissaries were already an institution known during the existence of the Second Temple is clear from *Rosh-Hashana* I 5, where we are told that "when the Temple still stood, emissaries also went out in Iyyar so that the exact date of the second Passover might be known." The expression בראשונה and the historical description of the beacons together with the mention of the גולה (cf. *Ezra* 2 1, 4 1) point to a date early in the period of the Second Temple, when the גולה was still the majority of Jewry which had not returned from the Exile.

The Jerusalem Talmud (l. c.) ascribes the abolition of the custom of lighting the beacons to Rabbi Yehuda the Prince, but obviously does not refer to the original trouble with the Cuthites and to the

institution of emissaries since it adds that the custom of lighting beacons still existed at Tiberias. It is obvious that although emissaries were sent the custom of lighting beacons lingered at some places though abolished elsewhere.

Josephus (*Antiqq* XI iv 9) tells us of the great trouble inflicted by the Cuthites (Samaritans) upon the Jews and that they did not leave untried any opportunity to do them injury during the early days of the Second Temple. The object of the Cuthites' conduct was to mislead the Jews into fixing the Passover in accordance with their own tradition on a Saturday. The question of fixing the Passover and of the new moon in connection therewith was a standing subject of controversy between the Jews and the Cuthites (*Menachoth* 65a; cf. Josephus, *ibid.* 8).

Now, verses 3 to 6 of Psalm 74 have never been satisfactorily translated or explained:

הרימה פעמך למשאות נצח כל הרע אויב בקרש: שאנו צורריך בקרב מועריך  
שמו אותם אתות: יודע כמביא למעלה בסבך עץ קרדמות:

Baethgen and Duhm read משואות instead of משואות. Jerome's "posuerunt signa sua in tropheum" in verse 4 gives very little sense.

What is the date of Psalm 74? Olshausen assigns it to the Chaldean period. Duhm puts it between 168 and 165 B. C. and relies mostly on some dubious evidence from the Book of Maccabees. Neither of these dates is satisfactory, and the dating of the Psalm in the period of Nehemia (Yavitz) or shortly after is supported by the following:

a) The Psalm refers to the promoters of the trouble as to עם נבל (v. 18) as if that were a distinctive name. Ben Sira (c. 200 B. C.) says ויעם נבל זה הדר בשכם i. e. The Cuthites, (cf. *Yebamoth* 63b).

b) The destruction of synagogues is mentioned in the Psalm (v. 8) (שרפו כל מועדי אל בארץ).

c) The leader of the people is no more a prophet (v. 9).

d) Part of the walls was destroyed by fire (cf. *Neh.* 1 3; 2 13).

If, then, we take it that the enemies referred to in this Psalm are the Cuthites a new light is shed on the obscure verses. They contain a description of the "trouble caused by the Cuthites," and are to be translated thus:



"Lift up thy steps unto the unceasing beacons, all the evil that the enemy hath caused in the sanctuary. Thine adversaries have roared in the midst of thine assemblies; their own signs they have set up as signs. He maketh himself known, signalling upwards with branches of trees cut by the axe."

The word משואות used in the Mishna is Biblical (cf. Judg. 20 38-40), Jer. 6 1 and *passim*). The burning of the fires on the tops of the hills explains the הרימה פעמיו, the metaphor being one of marching from hill to hill to extinguish these bonfires, הרע איב is a complete parallel to קלקלו הכותים, the evil caused by the Cuthites. בקרב מועדיך explains the damage done to the proper upkeep of the festive assemblies, and finally שמו אותם אתות becomes perfectly intelligible and clear. מוליד ומביא ומעלה ומוריד is parallel to יודע כמביא למעלה of the Mishna, as is also בלונסאות של ארו וקנים ועצי שמן to בסבך עץ קדרמות. The general reference of the Psalm to the Passover miracles (vv. 13-14) becomes clear in the light of the general meaning of the Psalm, as well as the following verses (16-17) which speak of the Divine power over the phenomena affecting the calendar, specifically the sun and the moon.

The new interpretation does away with Duhm's difficulty over the word נצה in v. 3, since it does not mean "eternal ruins," but "unceasing bonfires," and the whole of the Psalm becomes one connected historical picture to which the Mishna is an illuminating and striking parallel.

## LE BLASON DE L'AMÎR SALÂR

L. A. MAYER  
(JERUSALEM)

PARMI les quelques blasons musulmans connus de la littérature contemporaine, l'écu héraldique de l'Amîr Salâr joue un rôle évident. Il a été mentionné, par un simple accident, dans un passage important d'un historien arabe<sup>1</sup> et conséquemment cité plus souvent qu'aucun autre blason mamlouk, spécialement par Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks* II<sup>a</sup>, p. 15, n. 12; Rogers, *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien* 1880, p. 99 et *Vierteljahrschrift für Heraldik, Sphragistik und Genealogie* XI, 1883, p. 413; Yacoub Artin Pacha, *Contributions à l'Étude du Blason Musulman*, pp. 135—136; Casanova, *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française* VI, p. 499; van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Jérusalem, p. 235.

Artin Pacha essaya d'identifier ce blason avec un blason sur un tesson de la collection du Dr. Fouquet, décrit par lui comme «une aigle à ailes éployées, flanquée de deux armoiries, à droite et à gauche formant des bandes noires et blanches; la queue se termine en un ornement ressemblant à la fleur de lis surmontée d'un croissant». <sup>2</sup>

C'était, comme beaucoup d'autres, une conjecture géniale du pionnier infatigable de l'héraldique musulmane, mais rien de plus.

Dans l'exquise collection de photographies architecturales faites par le Capitaine Creswell que j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de mentionner dans ces pages (vol. III, p. 73), j'ai trouvé la photographie du minaret d'un petit sanctuaire à Hébron, connu localement comme le «Ḥaram

<sup>1</sup> Taghribirdî, an-Nujûm az-Zâhira (anno 711 H.) MS Paris 663, f. 77v; MS Photo, Le Caire, Bibliothèque Égyptienne, p. 205s.

<sup>2</sup> Contributions, pp. 95—96, fig. 43.



du Chaikh 'Alī Bakkā'.<sup>1</sup> L'inscription est faite en deux bandes, une longue en une ligne (a) et une courte en deux lignes (b et c). Elle se lit comme il suit:

- (a) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ مَنْ جَاءَ بِالْحَسَنَةِ فَلَهُ عَشْرُ أَمْثَالِهَا أَمْرٌ  
بِأَنْشَاءِ هَذِهِ الْمَذْنَةِ الْمُبَارَكَةِ الْمُقَرَّرَ الْعَالِي السَّيْفِي سَيْفُ الدِّينِ سَلَا.  
ابْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ النَّاصِرِيِّ نَائِبُ السُّلْطَانَةِ الْمُعَظَّمَةِ وَكَفِيلُ الْمَمَالِكِ  
الشَّرِيفَةِ بِالْأَمِيرِ الْمَصْرِيِّ وَالشَّامِيَةِ أَغْزَى اللَّهُ أَنْصَارَهُ فِي أَيَّامِ مُوَلَانَا  
السُّلْطَانِ الْمَلِكِ النَّاصِرِ نَاصِرِ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْمَلِكِ الْمَنْصُورِ  
قُلَاوْنِ الصَّالِحِي سُلْطَانِي الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ  
(b) قَامَعَ الْكُفْرَ وَالْمُنْتَرِدِينَ خَادِمِ الْحَرَمَيْنِ الشَّرِيفَيْنِ إِدَامَ اللَّهُ أَيَّامَهُ كَتَبَ  
بِتَارِيحِ مُسْتَهْلِ رَمَضَانَ  
(c) الْمُعَظَّمِ سَنَةِ اثْنَيْ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ هَجْرِيَّةٍ مِمَّا تَوَلَّى عِمَارَتَهَا الْعَبْدُ الْفَقِيرُ  
إِلَى اللَّهِ كَيْكَلْدِي النُّجْمِي

«... Qur'ân VI, 161 ... A ordonné la construction de ce minaret béni S. E. Saif ad-dīn Salâr, fils d'Abdallâh an-Nâsirî, vice-roi et gouverneur général de l'Égypte et de la Syrie, qu'Allâh glorifie ses victoires! Sous le règne de notre maître le sultan al-Malik an-Nâsir Nâsir ad-dunyâ wa-d-dîn; Muḥammad, fils d'al-Malik al-Manṣûr Qalâûn aṣ-Ṣâlihî, sultan de l'Islam et des Musulmans, dompteur des hérétiques et des rebelles, serviteur des deux harams sacrés, qu'Allâh fasse durer ses jours! Écrit à la date du 1<sup>er</sup> du mois Ramadân de l'année 702 de l'hégire (= 19. Avril 1302). A dirigé sa construction le serviteur avide d'Allâh Kaykaldî an-Najmî.»

Aux deux extrémités de (b) et (c), il y a un emblème héraldique, consistant d'une barre noire sur un écu rond et blanc. En face de cette inscription qui est répétée (avec le blason) au-dessus de la porte donnant à la cour, il y a peu de doute que ceci soit le blason de l'Amir Salâr, recherché depuis si longtemps.

Par une coïncidence curieuse, Artin Pacha lui-même, a reproduit le réel blason de l'Amir Salâr, mais en couleurs inverses<sup>2</sup> le décrivant comme «Sculpté sur la porte de la petite mosquée de Hébron (la mosaïque de la partie en hachures sur le dessin a disparu sur l'original)».<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mujir ad-dīn al-'Ulaimî, al-Uns al-Jalîl, t. 2, pp. 426, 492—93; trad. Sauvaire, p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> Contributions, fig. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Contributions, p. 138



## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS<sup>1</sup>

MAX L. MARGOLIS  
(PHILADELPHIA)

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Permit me to thank you most cordially for the high honour you have conferred upon me by electing me to the Presidency of this Society. You have been certainly kind to the stranger in your midst. Presidential addresses are meant to be general in scope, by all means brief in size, almost ornamental, quite as decorative as the office of President is in a learned society. It is told of the late Professor Gildersleeve, of the Johns Hopkins University, that he was very much chagrined when he learned that a colleague, an eminent student of Greek, had been made President of a western University. 'What a pity,' said he, 'to waste such a scholar.' In my own case, fortunately, there is nothing to waste. But perhaps I had better stick to my last and appear before you as a searcher among searchers.

The field of oriental research is so vast and the immediate tasks of the worker on the spot are so absorbing that diversification must necessarily ensue. Of course, diversification need not be isolation, and no matter how we may sequester ourselves we touch elbows with fellow-workers.

Textual criticism would seem to be a far cry from topographical studies; yet in the case of the Book of Joshua, which is but a text-book of historical geography in the Canon, a bristling forest of names of Palestinian localities, the student of the text may render a service to the topographer. I will confine myself to one example and deal with it as untechnically as I may.

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<sup>1</sup> Delivered at the Twenty-first meeting of the Society, January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1925, in the presence of His Excellency the High Commissioner for Palestine.

The northern border of Judah in chapter 15 coincides with the southern border of Benjamin in chapter 18. In the former place the order of the points along which the border runs is from east to west, in the latter place it is the reverse. Between the Fountain of Me-Nephtoah and Kiriath-jearim (anciently Baalah) the border went out, according to 15 9 'to the cities of mount Ephron,' but in 18 15 it is said to have gone out 'westward.' 'Westward' is clearly impossible; 'cities' of mount Ephron equally puzzling. In both places the Septuagint presupposes another reading in the Hebrew, but in order to get at it the Greek wording itself requires to be restored. In 15 9 the oldest Greek tradition, the Egyptian text, seems to omit the word 'cities': **εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἐφρων**. The omission was found by Origen, for he wrote \* **ἐπὶ κωμῶν: ὄρους ε**. The asterisk is the tell-tale sign of an addition in accordance with the Hebrew in order to supply a gap in the received Greek; the supplement in the present case was taken over bodily from Aquila. Note the genitive: **ὄρους**. Jerome once slyly remarked that if you wish to obtain the original version of "the Seventy" just drop the passages introduced by Origen *sub asterisco*. This prescription was actually followed in a recension which was probably prepared in Palestine, possibly by Eusebius at the time when he complied with the request of Constantine for a number of Bibles to be distributed in the churches. This recension seems to have had its home in the diocese of Constantinople; a number of extant manuscripts follow that recension, among them the Alexandrinus, the gift of Cyril Lucar to Charles I. of England. In the present instance the recension reads **ὄρους ε**, i. e. the element *sub asterisco* was passed over and the genitive was left hanging in the air. In certain cursives the syntactical difficulty was disposed of by changing the smooth breathing into the rough and 'a mountain' into 'districts.' There remains the Antiochene text which reads: **εἰς τὰ ὄρος ε**. This is also found in Theodotion.

Now Theodotion was a mere reviser of the Septuagint, just as the authors of the King James' Version were revisers of the preceding translations into English, and again as the Revisers of the nineteenth century were toward those of the seventeenth. A certain sacredness imparts itself to the translations, and a translation of the Scriptures once established may be recast and improved in accordance with progressive better knowledge, but in a conservative spirit and

by leaving intact as much as possible. I take it that Theodotion reproduced here the Septuagint. He had before him Palestinian transcripts, for the Septuagint was used in Palestine as well as in Egypt, as witness for example Josephus. In Palestine the transcripts were somewhat freer from errors. As a matter of fact, with all due regard to coincidence, no two scribes make the same error. There is a virtue in this diversification: is is exactly when scribes fall out that the truth may be ascertained. Especially in the case of place names, the Palestinian scribes who were familiar with the topography of their country escaped many pitfalls. For example, 15 40 'Cabbon,' כַּבּוֹן, was written by Origen (hence also in the Onomasticon) as  $\chi\alpha\beta\beta\omega\nu$ ; but the Egyptian and Syrian texts have  $\chi\alpha\beta\rho\alpha$  in a corrupt form; the text of Constantinople, ascending presumably to Palestinian antecedents, has the correct  $\chi\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$  which, of course, should be  $\chi\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\nu$ , exactly as the printer of the Aldina wisely hit upon. To return to our present passage,  $\iota\alpha\iota$  is apparently the prototype of  $\tau\alpha$  through  $\rho\epsilon$ , and  $\iota\alpha\iota$  corresponds to  $\epsilon\iota$  in the place of  $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ , i. e. Ai (of) mount Ephron. In chapter 8  $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$  and  $\epsilon\iota$  are frequently confounded, and it is at times impossible to tell which is the correct, i. e. original, reading.

In the parallel passage, 'westward,' to accord with the received Hebrew, was introduced by Origen only in the Tetrapla, the second and revised edition of his stupendous work in which the approximation to the Hebrew was carried out with still greater precision. But in the earlier edition, the Hexapla, he had acquiesced in the received Greek, and that in its obviously corrupt form,  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \rho\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\mu$ . Here again the text of Constantinople has preserved the correct Greek:  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \rho\alpha\gamma\iota\nu$ . So must the Septuagint have read. The translator accordingly read in his Hebrew  $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ .  $\epsilon\iota\mu$  is a good plural of  $\epsilon\iota$  (comp.  $\epsilon\iota\mu$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\mu$ ). The name of the place touched by the border was  $\epsilon\iota\mu$ , or in the singular  $\epsilon\iota$ , and known specifically as Ai of mount Ephron to distinguish it from the other Ai with which  $\epsilon\iota\mu$  18 23 is possibly identical. Compare also the place name  $\epsilon\iota\mu$  15 29 for which again the text of Constantinople reads  $\epsilon\iota\mu$ , which clearly underlies the corrupt  $\beta\alpha\kappa\omega\kappa$  or  $\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  in the Egyptian and Syrian texts.

Let the new place name be my contribution to Palestinian topography.

## ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF GAZA<sup>1</sup>

L. A. MAYER  
(JERUSALEM)

### 4.

#### MOSQUE OF IBN OTHMÂN

**F**OUNDER'S INSCRIPTION. 802 A. H. Marble slab over the right main entrance door in a convex frame of local stone. Dimensions about 82×60 cm. Five lines of elegant Mamluk naskhi, points throughout, a few vowels and differentiating signs; also ornaments in the intervening spaces. In the middle of the third line an heraldic shield. (See Plate.)

- (1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ أَنَا يَغْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَمَنِ
- (2) بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ أَمْرٌ بَانْشَاءَ هَذَا الْجَامِعِ أ (١)
- (3) الْمُبَارَكِ الْمُقَرَّرِ الْأَشْرَفِ (heraldic shield) الْعَالِي الْمَوْلُوي السَّيِّدِي
- (4) الْمَلِكِي الْمُخْدُومِي الْعَلَايِ أَقْبَغَا الطُّلُوتْمَرِي الْمَلِكِي أ (١)
- (5) النَّاصِرِي اعْتَزَّ اللَّهُ أَنْصَارُهُ بِتَأْدِيعِ شَهْرِ رَجَبِ الْفَرْدِ سَنَةِ اثْنَيْنِ وَثَمَانِ مِائَةٍ.

Qur'ân IX, 18 until **وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ** . . . Ordered to build this blessed Mosque H. E. 'Alâ ad-dîn Âqbughâ at-Ṭûlûtumrî . . . In the month of Rajab, of the year 802 (27<sup>th</sup> February—27<sup>th</sup> March 1400 A.D.)

'Alâ ad-dîn Âqbughâ at-Ṭûlûtumrî, usually called al-Lakkâsh,<sup>2</sup> was a slave of the Sultan Barqûq and is therefore called by Ibn Taghribirdî "aḏ-Zâhiri".<sup>3</sup> Nothing is known about his early career.

<sup>1</sup> Continued from Vol. III, 69—78.

<sup>2</sup> No attempt is made to translate this epithet. The Arabic dictionaries which I have been able to consult, omit the root "lkš" altogether (*Lisân ul-'Arab*, Lane, Spiro) or give it the meaning "frapper" (*Muḥîṭ ul-Muḥîṭ*, Dozy), "frapper quelque'un légèrement" (Belot, Hava). In the vulgar dialect of Palestine "lakash, yalkush" means "to flick." None of these translations seems quite satisfactory in our case.

<sup>3</sup> *Nuġâm* VI, p. 39, l. 18; p. 146, l. 7.







He became "amîr of a thousand" (*min jumlat umarâ' il-ulûf*)<sup>1</sup> during the reign of his master Barqûq, who probably appointed him governor of Gaza<sup>2</sup> at some uncertain date.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the merits of his brother Batâ who was an ardent partisan of Barqûq during the rebellion of Mintâsh influenced this or the subsequent appointment. In 800 he was nominated Amîr Majlis in lieu of Amîr Shaikh aş-Şafawî.<sup>4</sup> During the next year Āqbughā was appointed governor of Karak, but after a very short period of office was dismissed and put into the prison of Şubaibeh, his fiefs being given to Sūdûn al-Māridānî.<sup>5</sup> Āqbughā followed the call of Amîr Tenem by the end of Dhū-l-Hijja 801 (= August 1399)<sup>6</sup> and joined him during his rebellion against Faraj. He participated in the whole campaign, leaving Damascus for Gaza on the 1<sup>st</sup> Rabi' I, 802 (= 1. 11. 1399).<sup>7</sup> When Faraj approached Gaza the Syrian amirs who marched against the Sultan changed their minds and submitted to him, following the example given by the governors of Ḥamā and Şafad.<sup>8</sup> Āqbughā, left alone, abandoned Gaza and joined Tenem, who made his quarters at ar-Ramleh. At the general retreat after Tenem's unexpected defeat near Jitin<sup>9</sup> on

<sup>1</sup> *Nujûm* VI, p. 146, l. 7.

<sup>2</sup> During the period of the Circassian Mamluks the governor or the commander of troops in Gaza was a "commander of a thousand" (وبكل حال فئاتبها أو) مقدم العسكر بها لا يكون الا مقدم الف, Şubḥ al-a'shā IV, p. 198).

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Iyâs I, p. 288, l. 20ff. says that 'Alâ ad-dîn b. Āqbughā as-Sultânî was appointed governor of Gaza and arrived there on Wednesday, the 8<sup>th</sup> Şafar, 792 (= 26. 1. 1390). We reject the assumption—tempting as it is—that this otherwise unknown amir is a mistake of the printed edition for 'Alâ ad-dîn Āqbughā as-Sultânî, in which case as-Sultânî would be equal to az-Zâhirî, the reigning Sultan being az-Zâhir Barqûq. Describing the events of the year 802, Ibn Iyâs calls Āqbughā repeatedly "governor of Gaza" (*nâ'ib Ghazza*), e. g. p. 322, ll. 23, 27; p. 323, l. 10; but it is doubtful whether this expression is to be taken literally as meaning that Āqbughā was at that date actually governor, or whether it stands for "the late governor" (*nâ'ib kâna*). Anyhow it is worth mentioning that Ibn Taghrîbirdî does not call Āqbughā governor of Gaza in the *Nujûm* (Popper's edition) nor does he mention him in the list of governors of Gaza under Barqûq in *al-Manḥal aş-Şâfî*, s. v. Barqûq (MS. Cairo I, p. 331).

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Iyâs I, p. 308, l. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Tarîkh* (MS. Or. 7321 of the British Museum) pp. 106 b and 108 a.

<sup>6</sup> *Nujûm* VI, p. 11, l. 15.

<sup>7</sup> *Nujûm* VI, p. 20, l. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Iyâs I, p. 322.

<sup>9</sup> حبتين in the text of Ibn Iyâs is an apparent corruption, cf. *Nujûm* VI, p. 35, note d and Hartmann, *Geographische Nachrichten*, p. 73, s. v., al-ġitîn.

22<sup>nd</sup> Rajab, Āqbughā fled,<sup>1</sup> but was captured by Amīr Jakam al-ʿAwiḍi and imprisoned in the Dār us-Saʿāda in Damascus.<sup>2</sup> By an order of Faraj he was executed together with fourteen other amirs on 14<sup>th</sup> Shaʿbān, 802 (= 10. 4. 1400), in the Burj al-Ḥammām, in the Citadel of Damascus.<sup>3</sup>

Āqbughā's armorial bearings consist of two rhombs in the upper field and of one cup in the middle and another one in the lower field. The same blazon was published by Artin Pacha, *Contributions*, p. 118, no. 82, and is probably identical with the one published in *Damascus, die islamische Stadt* by Wulzinger and Watzinger, p. 11, fig. 1b, Plate 3d.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās I, p. 323, l. 5; *Nujūm* VI, p. 36, l. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Iyās I, p. 323, l. 10; *Nujūm* VI, p. 37, l. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Iyās I, p. 324, l. 16; *Nujūm* VI, p. 39, l. 18, p. 146, l. 15.

<sup>4</sup> The inscription is, in the photograph, practically illegible. Its upper part, transcribed and translated by Littmann, *op. cit.*, p. 156, does not contain any name.



## "GIDEON'S 300."

(Judges vii and viii)

S. TOLKOWSKY

(JERUSALEM)

THE Midianites had come up the vale of Yezreel "like locusts in multitude" and were encamped on the plain between the hill of Moreh (*Neby Duhy*) and the spring En-Harod. Gideon and the Hebrew tribes that had assembled around him had taken up their position to the south of the same spring, on the northern slopes of Mount Gilboa. Instead of giving battle with his whole force of 32000 men, Gideon dismisses most of them to their homes and keeps with him only 300 men of tried courage and prudence, belonging to his own clan of Abiezer.<sup>1</sup> With them he attacks the nomads at night, throwing their camp into confusion, and spreading such a panic among them that they abandon all their possessions in a desperate flight across the Jordan fords into Gilead and Moab.

From the point of view of the student of history three interesting questions arise in connexion with this narrative: (1) why did Gideon, having at his disposal a much larger force, choose to give battle with only 300 men? (2) Is it possible that with 300 men he really defeated an enemy host "like locusts in multitude"? (3) Is the narrative to be taken as no more than a legend, or does it describe a battle which actually took place in the circumstances and in the locality mentioned by the Bible?

In order to enable us to answer these three questions, I propose briefly to pass in review a number of statements referring to the use of a force of 300 men in the histories of other nations.

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<sup>1</sup> Judges 8 2.

It is well known that in Sparta the principal fighting force of the state was represented by the "knights", a corps of 300 men who served on foot as the body-guard of the kings. In republican Rome, the normal establishment of the army comprised, besides 3000 heavy and 1200 light infantry, a body of 300 cavalry. Similarly, in 1528, during the wars of Florence against the pope Clement VII. allied with the emperor Charles V., when Michael-Angelo was in charge of the city's defences, the Florentines created an army comprising a "civic militia" of 4000 ordinary citizens, and a selected corps of 300 young men of noble families whose special duty consisted in guarding the palace and supporting the constitution.<sup>1</sup> And the Fascist militia of present-day Italy, as reorganized in August 1924, is ultimately divided into cohorts of three centuries each.<sup>2</sup>

More interesting, however, and of more direct bearing upon our subject, are the cases of battles actually fought, or of expeditions actually undertaken, with a body of 300 men. Abishai, the brother of Joab, and the chief of the "three mighty men," "lifted his spear against three hundred and slew them;"<sup>3</sup> and in the reign of Asa king of Judah, Zerah the Cushite, who invaded southern Judea, had with him, in addition to a large host of infantry, a body of 300 chariots.<sup>4</sup>

A few interesting cases occurred during the Peloponnesian War. On one occasion Perdiccas, the king of Macedonia, being betrayed in enemy country by his Illyrian allies and compelled to retreat under conditions of extreme danger, covered the retreat of his army with a body of 300 men selected and led by himself, and succeeded in extricating the best part of his forces.<sup>5</sup> At the siege of Syracuse, in 414, it is with a body of 300 men, specially chosen for the purpose, that the Athenians rush one of the outer walls of defence of the city;<sup>6</sup> a year later, the whole Athenian army under Nicias, surrounded by the Syracusans and sorely tried by lack of food and ammunition and by the unceasing missiles of the enemy, is compelled to surrender,

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<sup>1</sup> Sismondi: *A History of the Italian Republics*, chapter XVI. (Everyman's Edition, London 1917, p. 314).

<sup>2</sup> *The Times*, August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1924.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Samuel 23 18.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Chronicles 14 8.

<sup>5</sup> Thucydides, Book IV, § 125.

<sup>6</sup> Thucydides, Book VI, § 100.

with the sole exception of a body of 300 men who force the guard by night and make good their escape.<sup>1</sup> During the invasion of Greece by the Persians, it is with a body of 300 Spartans that Leonidas joins the army of the Greek allies; and when their position at Thermopylae is turned by the enemy he takes upon himself and his 300 fellow-citizens the desperate task of keeping the Persians occupied until the retreating Greek forces have made good their escape. A striking parallel to the case of Gideon's battle at En-Harod is furnished by an incident which occurred during Alexander the Great's Indian campaign in B. C. 327—326. Having crossed the river Oxus on his way into the country of Sogdiana, which is to-day called Bukhara, he finds the Sogdian prince Arimazes encamped on a high rocky position with 30000 tribesmen and sufficient provisions to last for two years. Alexander having summoned him to surrender, Arimazes defies him and, referring to the strength and height of his position, asks the messengers whether the Macedonian king can fly. Alexander, in reply, chooses from out his whole army 300 young men who, during the night, succeed in turning the enemy's position with the result that the Barbarians, stricken with panic, lay down their arms and surrender to Alexander.<sup>2</sup>

But let us come to more recent times. In 968, the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus II. Phokas assembles an army of 80000 and invades Northern Syria with the purpose of taking Antioch from the Saracens; yet it is at the head of only 300 chosen men that his general Burtzes surprised that city during a dark winter night, while there was a heavy fall of snow, and captured its fortifications.<sup>3</sup> During the siege of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon, in 1099, when in the midst of the besiegers' greatest distress the news came from Jaffa that a Genoese fleet had arrived there loaded with munitions and provisions, it was a detachment of 300 Crusaders that fought its way down to the coast and made it possible to bring the much needed supplies to Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> In 1182 Renaud de Châtillon, prince of

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, Book VII, § 133.

<sup>2</sup> Quintus-Curtius, Book VII, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Finlay: *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Everyman's Edition, London 1913, p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> Besant and Palmer: *Jerusalem*, p. 203.

Kerak, sends an army of 300 Franks, and some rebellious Bedawin to the Hedjaz with the purpose of capturing Medinah. Deserted by the Bedawin, the 300 Franks were attacked and made prisoners by Saladin's forces, and sent to Cairo where they were put to death.<sup>1</sup> Some 40 years later, John of Brienne, chosen by the nobles of the Latin kingdom to succeed Amaury of Lusignan as king of Jerusalem, comes to Palestine with an army of 300 knights.<sup>2</sup> The unsuccessful attempt made during the night of the 5<sup>th</sup> of January 1453 by Stephano Porcari to seize the Capitol in order to wrest the city of Rome from the Pope and to re-establish the senate of the Roman republic, was carried out by a force of 300 soldiers whom Porcari had marched from Bologna for the purpose.<sup>3</sup> A last case I might mention is that which occurred only a few generations ago in Nejd, during the reign of Feysul son of Turkee, one of the ancestors of the present sultan Ibn Saûd. A numerous and well equipped army of Ajmān tribesmen had gathered near Koweit, and was about to invade Nejd, where they expected an easy victory; but while they imagined the Nejdian forces far away, Feysul's son Abdallah fell upon them by surprise and, with only 300 horsemen, defeated their advanced division in such a decisive manner that their plan of invasion was at once abandoned.<sup>4</sup>

In considering the series of historical parallels just mentioned, it would be difficult to admit that the choice, by so many distinguished generals, of only 300 men for the carrying out of certain military undertakings of a specially adventurous, or difficult, or responsible nature, can be a matter of mere coincidence. And indeed, if we study the problems involved in the various engagements to which I have referred above, we shall observe that in each case the object aimed at was one that was much more difficult to achieve with a large army than with a small body of men imbued with absolute

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<sup>1</sup> Besant and Palmer: *Jerusalem*, p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> Besant and Palmer: *Jerusalem*, p. 499.

<sup>3</sup> Sismondi: *op. cit.*, p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> W. F. Palgrave: *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*. Vol. II, p. 71.



personal devotion to their leader and capable, on account of their small numbers, of great mobility and perfect harmony in their actions. Experience has shown that 300 to 400 is the maximum number of men who can be effectively guided by the voice of one leader; it is probable that the figure of 300 was preferred because such a body lent itself to division into 2 wings and a centre, of 100 men each, the company of 100 men being the elementary unit on which the structure of armies was based in all countries where the decimal system of numbers was in use.

What was the problem that confronted Gideon? For a number of years in succession the enemy had been in the habit of invading western Palestine every year in spring and spoiling its crops, with the result that the people had been reduced to extreme misery. Gideon's object was to inflict upon the nomads such a punishment as would discourage them from renewing their raids in the future. But as he stood on Gilboa looking down on the vast camp of the enemy he may not have felt quite sure whether his own Israelite tribesmen, although experienced in guerilla warfare in the mountains, would prove equally good fighters in a pitched battle, on the open plain, against an enemy much more numerous than themselves; and if the Hebrew force was destroyed, nothing would be able to prevent the Midianites, if they wished to do so, from invading the heart of the country. On the other hand, a surprise attack carried out at night by a small body of resolute men, shouting, blowing many trumpets and waving numerous lights in order to make their numbers appear much larger than they were in fact, was likely to produce in the enemy camp a panic more destructive in its consequences than a regular defeat in the fields; and, if this attack failed, then the main forces of the Hebrews remained intact and still capable of defending the roads to the villages.

The problem with which Gideon was faced was, therefore, solved by him in exactly the same manner as would have been adopted by Perdiccas, or Leonidas, or Alexander the Great. Like them, but long before them, he showed his skill as a tactician by fixing on the number of 300 men as that best suited for his purpose; and—like Leonidas—he chose only men of his own clan. Gideon's plan proved entirely successful; and, in the light of the parallel cases mentioned above, I think we may safely say that the narrative preserved in

Judges vii and viii is history, and not legend. Because the perfect agreement that exists between Gideon's reported tactics and the topographical, political and psychological factors of the problem which he had to solve, is a thing that cannot have been invented, except perhaps by a still greater soldier than Gideon himself.

## INSCRIPTION ARABE DU SANCTUAIRE DE *SITT SULAYMIYAH*, AU MONT EBAL, À NAPLOUSE

Le Rév. Père J. A. JAUSSEN  
(JERUSALEM)

LE mont Ebal se dresse en face du mont Garizim dont il est séparé par la vallée profonde qui coupe en deux la chaîne de montagnes de la Samarie et forme un passage naturel entre le Jourdain et la Méditerranée. Cette vallée, riche en eaux, fertile, fréquentée par les caravanes était toute indiquée pour servir d'emplacement à une localité, soit à son commencement oriental, vers l'actuel tombeau de Néby Yûsef, soit dans un enfoncement de la vallée, auprès de la belle source Ra's al-'Ayn. Cette localité s'appela Sichem dans les temps anciens et porte aujourd'hui le nom de Naplouse.

En arrivant dans cette ville par la route de Jérusalem, le voyageur longe sur sa droite, les flancs de l'Ebal. S'il désire en faire l'ascension, il s'engage sur un petit sentier qui passe sous l'hôpital actuel et qui en serpentant sur le côté ouest de la montagne, conduit auprès du *wély 'Imâd ad-Dîn*. Un autre sentier a son point de départ plus à l'est, à l'extrémité occidentale du cimetière. Ce dernier raidillon s'élève rapidement et passe à quelques centaines de pas d'un banc de rocher qui se dresse à pic sur une hauteur de 7 à 8 mètres. Pour atteindre cette roche, dont la masse énorme attire le regard, prenons une piste qui monte en droite ligne. Au bout de 20 minutes, nous sommes au pied de la muraille rocheuse. Sur sa face, s'ouvre une grotte dont l'entrée est dérobée à la vue par d'énormes cactus et par quelques oliviers qui croissent à l'abri du vent du nord. En avant de l'entrée, s'étend une esplanade soutenue par un mur de pierres de taille et terminée vers le sud par un *mihrâb* orienté vers La Mecque. Cette esplanade, d'un aspect rectangulaire, mesure

6 mètres de large sur 7 mètres de long. Elle forme comme une sorte d'atrium ou de chapelle en plain air, aménagée devant le sanctuaire proprement dit. Celui-ci est creusé dans les flancs de la roche vive, en un enfoncement naturel, de forme irrégulière, vaguement circulaire, mesurant 3 mètres de profondeur sur 5 de large et 3 de haut. A gauche de la porte, en entrant, une sorte de cheminée naturelle s'ouvre dans la roche et donne accès à une chambre supérieure. D'après l'usure de la pierre occasionnée par le frottement, on serait porté à croire que ce passage a été souvent utilisé soit par un habitant des temps primitifs soit par quelque cénobite chrétien épris de l'amour et des charmes de la solitude. A l'extrémité *Est* de cette chambre supérieure, une étroite ouverture donne accès à un petit réduit qui ouvre sur le vide à une hauteur de 4 mètres environ, un peu à l'est de l'esplanade.

C'est sur cette esplanade que nous avons trouvé en juillet 1923 une inscription arabe en caractères *naṣḥy mamlūk*. Elle est gravée sur une pierre blanche et au grain friable, mesure 0,58 m de long sur 0,34 m de large. Les lettres sont tracées sur 5 lignes séparées par de petites barres et formant un champ de 0,06 m. Malgré la disparition de quelques lettres à droite ce document peut se lire de la façon suivante:

- 1 (بسم الله) الرحمان الرحيم جدد هذا المكان
- 2 (المبارك) العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى امقر العالي
- 3 المولوي المخدمي السيفي نوري الاشرفي امير دوادار.
- 4 (سيف) الاسلام اعز الله نصره راجيا في ذلك الثواب يوم الحساب
- 5 الآخر الاول من شهر الله المحرم من سنة ستة و ثلاثين و ثمان مائة

#### Traduction:

(1) Au nom d'Allah très miséricordieux: a restauré ce lieu béni (2) le pauvre serviteur d'Allah — qu'il soit exalté! — son Excellence élevée (3) le serviteur de notre Maître et Seigneur, le glaive de la religion, Nûry al-Aṣrafy grand Dâwadâr, (4) le glaive de l'Islam, qu'Allah l'assiste! —, attendant en cela la récompense au jour du compte (5) suprême: le premier du mois d'Allah al-muḥarram, l'an 836.

#### Commentaire:

(1) *djaddad*, a restauré; avant l'intervention de Nûry le lieu était l'objet d'un culte. *-al-mubâarak* «de béni»: le mot est restitué d'après la forme de quelques vestiges de lettres encore visibles. Les détails donnés plus loin montreront comment cet endroit est encore considéré comme «béni». *-al-muqarr*, titre d'abord royal qui fut en quelque



sorte détrôné par celui de «*al-mağâm*» et fut ensuite porté par les grands officiers, surtout à partir de Qalawn (678 à 689 H. = 1279 à 1290 de notre ère). Tous les grands émirs mamlûks s'appelèrent *al-muqarr* «Excellence». Dans le style protocolaire des inscriptions, ce titre est généralement suivi de trois épithètes: *al-ašraf*, *al-karîm*, *al-'âly*. Dans notre texte, nous avons en premier lieu *al-'âly*, élevé: (2) ensuite *al-mawlawy* qui signifie mot-à-mot appartenant au maître, *mawla* et dans les inscriptions, appartenant à notre maître,



*mawlana*; vient ensuite l'épithète *al-makhdûmy* de notre Seigneur, *al-makdhûm*, «celui qui est servi», terme assez rare en épigraphie, mais qui se trouve ici; *as-sayfy*, relatif de *sayf ad-dîn*, le glaive de la religion! — *Nûry*; c'est ainsi que je propose de lire le nom propre malgré certaines hésitations. Dans les ouvrages d'histoire que j'ai sous la main, je n'ai pu trouver le nom de ce personnage. *al-ašrafy*: si le terme *al-ašraf* est la plupart du temps un terme honorifique, surtout lorsqu'il suit le titre *al-muqarr*, dans cette inscription *ašrafy* paraît être un relatif se rapportant à *Ašraf* nom du Sultan régnant, al-Malik al-Ašraf Bars-bay qui exerça le pouvoir de 825 à 841 H. = 1422 à 1438 de notre ère. Il remplaça sur le trône Nâsir ad-Din

Muhammad (al-Malik as-Sâlih); il réprima la révolte des Syriens, fit deux campagnes en Chypre; constitua prisonnier Jean de Lusignan qu'il emmena au Caire, soutint la guerre contre les Turcomans et soumit le Chérif de La Mecque. A la fin de son règne, l'Egypte fut ravagée par la peste.

C'est sous ce Sultan que Nûry reconstruit à Naplouse le petit sanctuaire qui nous occupe.

Il est nommé *amîr dawâdar*, le chef ou le premier secrétaire. On sait que le *dawâdar* «le porte encrier», était un fonctionnaire de la cour des Mamlûks. Non seulement le Sultan, mais les principaux fonctionnaires avaient un ou plusieurs *dawâdar*.

Le mot du début de la 4 ligne est effaçé: je suppose le mot *sayf*, glaive.

Dans la date, le mot *sittat*, six, n'est pas absolument sur: peut être pourrait-on lire *etnayn*, deux.

Dans ce cas ce serait en 632 qu'aurait eu lieu la restauration de ce lieu béni, *al-makân al-mubâarak*.

Il nous reste à expliquer la cause de ce travail et le motif de la sainteté du lieu dont nous avons esquissé une description.

Dans la capitale de l'Egypte, vivait aux temps anciens *Sitt Sulaymiyah*, la Dame Sulaymiyah ou la petite et gentille Salimah. Elle appartenait à une famille princière et aimait beaucoup son frère Sulaymân. Une tradition prétend qu'elle avait deux frères 'Imâd ad-Dîn et Nûr ad-Dîn. Elle était fort pieuse et faisait d'abondantes bonnes oeuvres: aussi était elle fort connue en Egypte. Sa mort fut un deuil public. Une foule énorme se réunit pour assister aux funérailles. Le cortège quitte la mosquée pour se rendre au cimetière. En route, la bière portée par les amis, se soulève soudain, échappe aux mains qui veulent la retenir et s'envole dans les airs. Elle fait un tour au dessus de la ville du Caire et, tel un oiseau gigantesque, prend ensuite la route de Syrie. Elle traverse le désert, elle traverse la Séphêla et arrive à Naplouse. En ligne droite, elle se dirige vers la roche que nous avons décrite et pénètre par la toute petite ouverture mentionnée à l'orient de la chambre supérieure: le trou est extrêmement étroit, mais par une permission du Très Haut, la bière s'introduit et se range le long de la paroi. Alors la *wélyah* sort de sa bière, pleine de vie et établit sa demeure dans ce nid d'aigle.

Que *Sitt Sulaymiyah* soit fixée dans cette cavité du rocher, la croyance des fidèles qui fréquentent le sanctuaire n'en conçoit aucun doute. Un indigène, 'Abd ar-Razzâq était auprès de la grotte lors de ma première visite; avec un certain respect, il répondit à mes questions et me donna les détails suivants confirmés depuis par d'autres personnes.

*La Sitt Sulaymiyah* habite dans le creux, sur le bord duquel on aperçoit encore l'extrémité d'une planche de sa bière! «Elle se repose la-haut, dit Abd ar-Razzâq, mais elle descend parfois sur l'esplanade, en avant de la grotte; alors elle se ren visible: elle est habillée d'une robe blanche; elle porte sur la tête un grand voile blanc. Jamais elle ne se laisse approcher. Quelqu'un gravit-il l'esplanade? Elle disparaît aussitôt. De loin, 'Abd ar-Razzâq l'a aperçue plusieurs fois, mais malgré son vif désir de lui parler et de la toucher, il n'a jamais pu la rejoindre.»

Du plus la «Dame» n'aime pas les indiscretions des visiteurs; l'expérience le prouve! Un *fellâh* visitait le sanctuaire pour s'acquitter d'un vœu. En gravissant la pente de la montagne, il aperçoit la «Dame» assise au bord de l'ancre où elle demeure. Poussé par le désir de la contempler, il s'approche doucement et sans bruit parvient au dessous du rocher: alors il lève les yeux... *Sitt Sulaymiyah* peignait sa belle chevelure noire. Elle aperçoit le paysan qui la fixait. Irritée de son effronterie, elle lui lance son peigne en plein visage. L'indiscret *fellâh* est aussitôt frappé de cécité!

'Abd ar-Razzâq continue: «Non seulement le visteur ne doit pas manquer de discrétion ni de révérence envers *Sitt Sulaymiyah*, mais s'il veut éviter tout malheur, il respectera ce qui appartient à la «Dame». Or la campagne située en avant du rocher constitue sa propriété et rien de ce qu'elle contient n'est un bien *hâlal* dont on puisse disposer à sa guise. «Un jour, me dit en confidence 'Abd ar-Razzâq, je me suis permis de saisir un pigeon devant la grotte: en ce lieu-çi, fit-il en esquissant un geste pour m'indiquer l'endroit précis. J'emportais le pigeon chez moi. A peine étais-je entré dans ma maison, que je fus saisi d'un tremblement nerveux dans tout le corps et je passais une nuit affreuse. En réfléchissant je compris que j'avais offensé *Sitt Sulaymiyah*. De bon matin, je me levais pour rapporter le pigeon à l'endroit où je l'avais pris: le tremblement nerveux cessa immédiatement.»



D'autres faits prouvent la sainteté de ce lieu consacré à la « Dame ».

En plus des oiseaux, tous les animaux qui habitent aux alentours de la grotte appartiennent à *Sulaymiyah*. Aussi aucun chasseur aujourd'hui n'aurait l'imprudence de tirer sur une perdrix ou sur un lièvre qui fréquente ces lieux: son audace serait sûrement châtiée.

Mais ne pas faire du tort à la *Sitt* ne suffit pas à la piété des fidèles: des honneurs particuliers sont réclamés par elle et lui sont offerts par la population voisine.

Fréquemment les malheureux accourent à ce sanctuaire pour solliciter la protection de *Sulaymiyah*. A la suite d'une guérison obtenue ou d'une faveur accordée, hommes et femmes arrivent à la grotte et immolent, qui un agneau, qui un chevreau, en sacrifice, à la face d'Allah, en l'honneur de la *Sitt*. La victime est préparée sur place et mangée par ceux qui prennent part au pèlerinage «*az-ziârah*».

Plus souvent encore on voit de pieux visiteurs apporter de l'huile et allumer une lampe en l'honneur de la «*Sitt*». Du reste un simple coup d'oeil jeté à l'intérieur de la grotte et le long du rocher à l'ouest de l'esplanade, sur une longueur de 25 à 30 mètres, permet de constater les traces des nombreuses lampes fréquemment allumées en ce sanctuaire.

Parfois les pieux visiteurs organisent, le soir, une véritable illumination semblable à celle que j'ai aperçus le 18 septembre 1923; des torches et des lampes, disposées sur l'esplanade, en avant de la grotte et tout le long de la paroi projetaient une brillante lumière sur la roche nue et en montraient au spectateur les contours grisâtres à travers les larges feuilles de cactus.

Ce lieu béni *hadâ'l makân al-mubâarak*, de notre inscription, nous rappelle les sanctuaires de l'Arabie avec leurs *Hima* ou enceintes sacrées, sanctuaires visités par les populations voisines qui s'y réunissaient pour y faire des sacrifices.

En ce sanctuaire, une *wéliyah* est particulièrement honorée, car cette *wéliyah*, la *Sitt Sulaymiyah*, a établi sa demeure en ce lieu.

Le fait d'avoir volé de l'Egypte en la ville de Naplouse ne constitue pas un fait unique dans les légendes des *wéllys*; d'autres saints ont ainsi volés après leur mort. L'origine de cette preuve de la sainteté doit être cherchée dans la légende qui attribue au Prophète Muḥammad l'éloge suivant de Dja'far fils d'Abû Tâlib. On sait que



la première rencontre des troupes musulmanes avec les forces byzantines eut lieu à Mawtah, petite localité au sud de Kérak l'an 7 de l'Heg. = l'an 629. La mêlée fut très chaude. Le Général commandant les Musulamans, Zâyd fut tué. Dja'far prit le drapeau et dirigea le combat. Un coup de sabre lui abattit les deux mains, mais il saisit l'étendard entre ses deux bras jusqu'au moment où il tomba. Sa conduite courageuse fut rapportée au Prophète qui dit: «Au lieu des deux mains coupées dans le combat, Allah lui a donné deux ailes avec lesquelles il vole parmi les anges». Depuis cette parole Dja'far est appelé *dû'l djanahayni*, Dja'far aux deux ailes ou *Dja'far at-Tayyar*, Dja'far qui vole.

D'après ce prototype beaucoup de *wéllys* musulmans ont eu le privilège de voler après leur mort.

## NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF JAFFA

S. TOLKOWSKY  
(JAFFA)

THE writings of the pilgrims who visited Jaffa from the end of the 14th century until the end of the 17th, describe Jaffa as a collection of totally uninhabited ruins, the common view being that its destruction dates from its capture by Bibars in 1268.

While there is no doubt that on that occasion the city suffered enormous damage, it is nevertheless true that within a few years from that event Jaffa was rebuilt and became as flourishing an industrial and commercial centre as it had ever been before. The Arab geographer Abulfeda, writing in 1321, and the Spanish Jewish pilgrim Rabbi Isaac Chelo, who visited the town in 1334, are reliable witnesses of this revival; and, as late as the year 1335, the Emir Jemâl ed-Din ibn-Isheik founded the *wely* known as the "*kubbet Sheikh Murad*," which still exists to-day and is situated to the east of the suburb called the *saknet Abu-Kebîr*. Ludolph von Suchem, who passed through Jaffa in 1340, found it "still fairly peopled" and described it as "an exceeding ancient and beauteous city," but says that shortly before his time the harbour works had been destroyed by the sultan of Egypt "out of fear of the king of France." Fifty-five years later, in 1395, the Baron d'Anglure found the city itself completely destroyed and entirely uninhabited, the only place where pilgrims could find shelter for the night being in an abandoned chapel of the church of St. Peter, the remains of which could still be recognized amongst the ruins of the citadel.

In my History of Jaffa, published last year, I said that "of the causes which brought about this utter ruin of the once beautiful and wealthy city we know nothing positive", and that "we can only surmise that the destruction was the act of the only Crusader who actually

carried war into Palestine during the fourteenth century, namely, Peter I, king of Cyprus, who sacked Alexandria in 1365, and ravaged the coasts of Palestine and Syria in 1367."

Since writing the lines just quoted, there has come into my possession further material which has compelled me to reconsider my views on the subject and to absolve king Peter of Cyprus of the responsibility for the destruction of Jaffa.

The destruction of the harbour works in 1336 had been ordered by the sultan En-Nâsir Nâsir-ed-Din Mohammed on account of the preparations for a new crusade which were being made at that moment by the kings of England and France. But the sultan's fears had been in vain, and the destruction of the harbour works at Jaffa had served no useful purpose; for, before the crusade could be launched, the year 1337 had seen the beginning of the Hundred Years' War between England and France.

However, before a few years had elapsed, the Pope endeavoured to form a new coalition between those Christian powers which were threatened by the Ottoman Turks, who had begun to settle in Europe as early as 1308. Venice, anxious to preserve her possessions in the Aegean islands, combined forces with the Knights Hospitallers; in 1344 they undertook a new crusade which ended in the conquest of Smyrna. Another crusade, launched in 1345, under the leadership of Humbert, dauphin of Vienne, ended in failure. The fate of Smyrna and the momentary revival of the crusading spirit once more put the fear of the Christians into the sultan's heart; afraid of a new attempt to seize Jerusalem by way of Jaffa, he ordered the latter town to be entirely destroyed, and its harbour as well as those of a number of other maritime cities of Palestine and Syria, to be filled up. A Franciscan monk who landed at Jaffa in the spring of the year 1347, found the city razed to the ground; only two ruined buildings remained standing, which were inhabited by an officer and a few soldiers. The monk whose evidence enables us thus to establish with certainty both the approximate date, 1344 to 1346, and the causes of the final destruction of Jaffa, is Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi, who in his *Libro d'Oltramare* (published by Alberto Bacchi della Lega, 2 vols., Bologna 1881) states: "*La città di Giaffa si è tutta guasta, che non ha altro che due grotte dove sta uno povero amiraglio con alquanti Saracini alla guardia del porto; ma il porto si è guasto e ripieno, come quegli di*

*Soria, per paura che navi, nè galee di Cristiani non potessero andare in Terra Santa, per acquistare il paese* (Vol. I, p. 26). The translation of this passage is as follows: "The city of Jaffa is entirely destroyed, there being nothing else than two caves where are stationed a poor officer with a few Saracens for the purpose of guarding the harbour; but the harbour is destroyed and filled up, like those of Syria, out of fear less Christian ships or galleys land in the Holy Land with the intention of conquering the country."



## LES HYKSOS ET LES HÉBREUX.

Le Rév. Père ALEXIS MALLON

(JÉRUSALEM)

DANS sa réponse à Apion, l'historien Flavius Josèphe admet comme certaine et défend avec beaucoup de force l'identification des Hébreux avec les Hyksos. Il donne lui-même dans son prologue la raison de cette position. Ses adversaires, ses calomniateurs, comme il les appelle, ont dénigré son grand ouvrage des *Antiquités judaïques* dans lequel, s'appuyant sur la Bible, il a exalté — à bon droit — l'ancienneté et les gloires du peuple hébreu. Les historiens grecs, disent-ils, n'ont rien connue de semblable, ils ne parlent pas des Hébreux.

Indigné de ces accusations, l'apologiste saisit la balle au bond. Il se met à feuilleter les anciens historiens et il se fait fort de démontrer que beaucoup ont mentionné les Hébreux et que si les autres les passent sous silence, c'est par pure jalousie. Parmi les Égyptiens, il s'en tient à un seul, à Manéthon qui, dit-il à juste titre, «est fort considéré entr'eux»<sup>1</sup> et est versé à la fois dans les lettres grecques et égyptiennes.<sup>2</sup>

Josèphe avait-il un Manéthon complet entre les mains? Ce n'est pas probable. Il semble plutôt qu'il ne possédait que des extraits cités par d'autres auteurs. Comme on le sait, la grande histoire de Manéthon n'a pas été retrouvée. Il nous est donc impossible de confronter avec l'original les citations de Josèphe. Mais, dans notre cas, il n'importe. L'historien juif avait sous les yeux des textes sûrement manéthoniens, et, rencontrant dans ces textes les Hyksos, un peuple de Sémites dont les chefs ont ceint la couronne des

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<sup>1</sup> *Contra Apion.* I, 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* I, 14.

Pharaons, il n'hésite pas un instant, il y reconnaît aussitôt les «ancêtres», les «ancêtres» dont il revendique la gloire. Et cette identification, pour lui si précieuse, n'est même pas son œuvre. Il a la bonne fortune de la trouver déjà réalisée dans ses documents. Ceux-ci, en effet, disent clairement qu'après la capitulation d'Avaris, les Hyksos se retirèrent en Palestine où ils fondèrent Jérusalem et devinrent les Juifs.<sup>1</sup>

Comment ce dernier détail s'est-il glissé dans l'histoire de Manéthon? Car, il semble bien qu'il soit authentique. L'auteur égyptien connaissait les Hyksos et la prise d'Avaris, leur capitale, par les textes hiéroglyphiques. En cela, les découvertes modernes ont pleinement confirmé son récit. Mais sans aucun doute, ces textes ne mentionnaient ni Jérusalem ni les Hébreux. Il complète donc son sujet qui s'arrêtait brusquement avec l'expulsion des Hyksos, en référant une opinion courante à son époque. Et cette opinion, il est facile de voir qu'elle était celle des savants juifs d'Égypte. Dans la même intention que Josèphe, eux aussi s'étaient *emparé* des Hyksos et en avaient fait les «glorieux ancêtres». Leur intervention se reconnaît à la manière discrète dont ils avaient retouché le siège d'Avaris. Dans la version mise en vogue par eux, ce n'était plus une défaite humiliante, une expulsion des vaincus, mais une capitulation glorieuse après une sortie qui avait mis Pharaon en fuite, puis une retraite triomphante dans le pays de leur choix.

L'intrusion d'opinions de partis dans le texte manéthonien est un fait qui ne semble pas contestable. On la saisit encore dans l'histoire des «Impurs» qui suit celle des Hyksos et que Josèphe rapporte et réfute longuement. Cette histoire attribuant un rôle odieux aux Hébreux, il est évident qu'elle provenait de leurs ennemis. L'auteur égyptien semble avoir voulu tenir la balance égale entre les deux camps en rapportant deux opinions qui manifestement sont inconciliables.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Même identification dans Ptolémée de Mendès cité par Tatien, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.*, Didot, IV, 485.

<sup>2</sup> *Cont. Ap.* I, 26. Tous les textes concernant les «les Impurs» et les Juifs, d'après d'autres auteurs grecs, en particulier Hécatee d'Abdère, ont été réunis par Th. Reinach, *Textes relatifs au Judaïsme*, p. 20 et suiv.; ils sont étudiés par R. Weill, *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien*, I, p. 95—130. Dans les fléaux et maladies dont parlent les auteurs grecs, il faut voir évidemment une déformation

Pour nous, la solution est simple. Historiquement parlant, les Hyksos ne sont pas les Hébreux. Et pour expliquer le silence des documents hiéroglyphiques sur Israël, nous n'invoquerons ni la jalousie ni l'envie, nous répéterons ce qui a été dit depuis longtemps, que le séjour en Égypte fut un épisode qui n'attira pas l'attention des scribes officiels. Admettant même que l'Exode ait eu quelque retentissement dans la vallée du Nil, on n'y pouvait rien cueillir de glorieux pour Pharaon.

Pour faire ressortir la distinction entre Hyksos et Hébreux, il suffira d'une remarque. Les Hyksos, tant ceux de Manéthon que ceux des monuments, s'emparèrent du pouvoir et montèrent sur le trône des Pharaons. Leur souveraineté fut d'abord limitée au Delta, mais elle s'étendit, au moins avec l'un d'eux, le fameux Hayan (Jannas de Manéthon), sur toute la vallée. Or, les auteurs sacrés qui sont si bien renseignés sur les choses d'Égypte, qui décrivent si longuement et avec une si légitime complaisance, l'exaltation de Joseph, fils de Jacob, ne savent rien de cette royauté. Pour eux, loin d'avoir été des Pharaons, leurs ancêtres ont été opprimés et réduits en servitude par les Pharaons. C'est le renversement des rôles, et comme, dans l'histoire de sa nation, personne ne tient à remplacer des gloires authentiques par des humiliations imaginaires, il faut bien en conclure que leur récit est l'écho fidèle de la tradition.

Inutile d'insister, le tableau biblique d'Israël en Égypte ne cadre en aucune manière avec ce que les monuments nous apprennent des « Pasteurs ». Ce n'est pas à dire que les deux peuples soient restés sans relations. Lorsque Jacob et sa famille descendirent dans la plaine du Nil, les Hyksos étaient au pouvoir et ce fut un de leurs rois, probablement un Apophis, qui les accueillit et leur concéda la terre de Gessen, sur la frontière orientale. Cette bienveillance qui s'était déjà manifestée à l'égard de Joseph, s'explique par l'affinité des races et la communauté d'origine.

Car, qui sont les Hyksos? — Une masse hétérogène formée en majorité de Sémites, Cananéens et Amorrhéens, et peut-être de

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des *plâtres d'Égypte* qu'ils connaissaient par la Bible. Il n'existe pas de document égyptien faisant allusion à une expulsion d'étrangers à cause de maladies contagieuses. Les "Impurs" expulsés étaient la réponse des *antisémites* aux Apologistes juifs qui voulaient avoir les glorieux Hyksos comme ancêtres. Voir Meyer, *Histoire de l'Antiquité* (trad. Moret) II, 303.

quelques éléments asianiques. Telle est, du moins, la conclusion qui se dégage des documents écrits et figurés.

Et d'abord il importe de remarquer que ni entr'eux ni pour les Égyptiens qui étaient si bons Observateurs et qui nous ont fait connaître tant d'autres peuples, ils n'ont pas de nom propre à eux. Car le terme *hyksos* n'est pas un ethnique, c'est un mot composé de deux radicaux égyptiens, *hik* (ég. *hk* 3) «chef» et de *khost* (ég. *h3 st*) «étranger, tribu, caravane», et qui signifie donc «chef d'étrangers, chef de tribu», quelque chose comme le *cheikh* des Bédouins.<sup>1</sup> Ce nom qui désignait d'abord les chefs, fut naturellement étendu à toute leur suite. A l'origine, sur les lèvres des Égyptiens, il avait sans aucun doute un sens péjoratif, comme *Barbare* chez les Romains. Mais ce qui est étonnant, c'est que les étrangers eux-mêmes n'en cherchèrent pas d'autre, qu'ils s'en firent gloire et qu'ils le gravèrent sur leurs scarabées. Nous connaissons cinq chefs portant ce titre: *Abša de Béni Hasan*, *'Anat-her*, *Semqen*, *Herit-'Antha*, *Ḥayan*.

*Abša (Abšai)* est un Sémite, il descendit en Egypte avec sa tribu sous la XII dynastie, au temps du Pharaon Amenemhat II. De même race sont aussi *'Anat-her* et *Herit-'Antha* dont les noms composés nous montrent, sous deux formes différentes, *'Anat*, forme cananéenne, et *'Antha*, forme araméenne, le vocable de la fameuse déesse qui occupa une place importante dans les religions orientales. Quant à l'étymologie de *Semqen* et *Ḥayan*, elle reste incertaine, mais leurs scarabées sont semblables aux autres et n'offrent aucun caractère distinctif. Comme on le sait, *Ḥayan* est le plus célèbre de ces chefs. C'est très probablement le Pharaon Jannas de Manéthon. Ses monuments ont été retrouvés dans toute l'Egypte à Bagdad, à Knossos en Crète.

Plusieurs autres chefs portant aussi des noms sémitiques, tels *Salatis*, le premier de la liste manéthonienne (du radical *salīṭa* «dominer» d'où l'aram. *šalīṭa* et l'arabe *sultān*), et peut-être le second de la même liste, *Benon* (*banūn?*),<sup>2</sup> tel surtout *Ja'qob-her* des monuments qui doit être classé parmi les plus grands, car, sur quelques scarabées il s'attribue une titulature pharaonique, *filz de Ra*, *Mer-ousir-ra*, *Ja'qob-her*, *doué de vie*.

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. *Les Hébreux en Égypte*, 1921, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> R. Eisler, *Die Kenitischen Weihinschriften der Hyksoszeit*, 1919, p. 143.



Au reste, on l'a remarqué depuis longtemps, le critère onomastique dans la question présente, comporte des réserves. Ces Orientaux, qui aiment à se dire *filz de Ra*, s'étaient égyptianisés, adoptant la langue et les usages de leur nouveau pays, au point qu'il n'est plus possible de distinguer les nationalités. Aussi bien quelques auteurs ont-ils émis l'opinion que les Apophis étaient des rois indigènes, à tort d'ailleurs, car la mode s'introduisit vite parmi les Hyksos de prendre des noms égyptiens. Quelques noms, cependant, comme Apachnan, Koupepen, Semqen, Assis ou Aseth, Hayan, ne semblent ni égyptiens ni sémitiques, et c'est une des raisons qui militent en faveur d'éléments asianiques, Kassites ou Mitanniens, dans la masse des Sémites.<sup>1</sup>

Cette dernière hypothèse est, par ailleurs, assez vraisemblable. La conquête hyksos (vers 1670) eut lieu peu de temps après l'avènement des Kassites à Babylone (1760). Ceux-ci introduisirent en Mésopotamie les chars de guerre attelés de chevaux, et le même attelage arriva en Égypte au temps des Hyksos. Une tribu guerrière serait descendue du Nord, entraînant à sa suite Amorrhéens et Cananéens, et aurait facilement envahi les plaines du Delta. Elle se serait, du reste, rapidement fondue avec les peuples qu'elle traversait ou soumettait. Après la prise d'Avaris par Ahmosis, les Hyksos disparaissent comme peuple.<sup>2</sup> Beaucoup, sans doute, restèrent en Égypte, beaucoup aussi retournèrent en Canaan, leur patrie d'origine.

Aucun monument figuré ne nous montre un type hyksos différent des Sémites. La caravane du cheikh Abša est composée de Cananéens. Les scarabées que nous appelons «hyksos» ont été trouvés un peu partout, en Palestine et en Phénicie, mais non pas en Haute Syrie, ni en Asie Mineure. Ils existaient déjà en Égypte au Moyen Empire. On en possède qui portent les cartouches de Sésostris I, d'Amenemhat II, d'Amenemhat III, d'Amenemhat IV (Petrie, *A history of Egypt*, I,

<sup>1</sup> L'inscription de Hatshepsit au Speos Artemidos donne deux noms aux envahisseurs, 'aamū et šemaū. Les 'aamū sont «les nomades, les pasteurs, les bédouins», appellation commune aux habitants du Sinaï et de Canaan. Les šemaū sont assurément une catégorie spécial d'Orientaux, mais traduire ce mot par «Asianiques» (non Sémites), ce serait lui donner un sens précis qu'il n'a pas dans les textes. Šema est devenu en copte šemmô qui signifie simplement «étranger».

<sup>2</sup> Ce fut, sans doute, la tribu dominante qui tenta de résister encore dans Sharouhen.

156, 164, 184, 196).<sup>1</sup> Le décor à spirales qui les caractérise provenait du monde égéen, soit par relation maritimes directes, soit par l'intermédiaire de la Phénicie. Les brillantes découvertes de Byblos ont projeté de nouvelles lumières sur cette époque de culture avancée. La tombe d'un des princes de cette cité, contemporain d'Amenemhat III, a livré un récipient d'argent avec le décor en volutes au repoussé (*Syria*, III, 285). Ce vase était d'importation égéenne ou mycénienne, mais il n'en reste pas moins établi que le motif essentiel du style dit «hyksos» était connu longtemps avant les Pasteurs, en Égypte comme en Orient. La domination de ceux-ci favorisa la diffusion du scarabée de type exotique, mais elle ne fut pour rien dans sa création. Au Nouvel Empire, après la restauration nationale, ce genre de cachet disparut en Égypte tandis qu'il se maintint longtemps encore en Palestine.

Avec les scarabées «hyksos», se rencontre parfois une poterie noire à une seule anse et décorée d'un pointillé géométrique, en lignes obliques, triangles et chevrons. Des échantillons de cette céramique ont été reconnus à *Tell el-Jahoudyieh*, à *Rifeh*, à *Saft el-Henné*, en Palestine, en Syrie, à *Kafr el-Djarra* près de Sidon, à Hissarlik, à Chypre et en Crète.<sup>2</sup> On ignore quelle est sa patrie d'origine, mais il est manifeste qu'on ne peut en faire gloire aux Hyksos.

Le seul ouvrage qui pourrait être attribué à ces rois, est le camp retranché de *Tell el-Jahoudyieh* où ont été trouvés en grande quantité les scarabées de style hyksos. Ce vaste rectangle, entouré de murs en terre battue et en briques, avec une entrée en plan incliné, est dû non à des Egyptiens, mais à quelque tribu orientale. On en a signalé de pareils dans la Syrie du Nord, à *Mišrifë* et à *Tell Safînat-Nūh*.<sup>3</sup> Cependant, l'attribution aux Hyksos manque de base solide et reste très incertaine. Ainsi en ont jugé plusieurs critiques, en particulier Maspero.<sup>4</sup> Les scarabées à volute et la poterie noire à pointillé géométrique prouvent que le camp fut occupé par les Pasteurs, non

<sup>1</sup> Ils se manifestent même déjà à la X et à la XI dynastie, avec des noms privés et des noms royaux (Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with names*, pl. XI).

<sup>2</sup> Contenau, *La glyptique syro-hittite*, p. 134. Dussaud, *Les civilisations pré-helléniques*, 239.

<sup>3</sup> S. Ronzevalle, *Notes et études d'arch. or. (Mél. de la Fac. Or., Beyrouth, VII, 109)*.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue Critique*, 1907, II, 197.

qu'il fut construit par eux. Les raisons ne manquent pas pour croire qu'il leur est bien antérieur. Petrie y a exhumé des monuments de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. En outre, le même explorateur a reconnu les traces d'un camp semblable à Héliopolis, enveloppant l'obélisque et le temple du Moyen Empire.<sup>1</sup> On conçoit difficilement comment les Étrangers auraient choisi, pour se retrancher, un endroit si vénéré, où affluait, à certaines fêtes, la population indigène. Quant aux fortifications syriennes, leur origine est encore inconnue. Les camps rectangulaires que certains voyageurs ont remarqués en Transcaspienne, aux environs de Men,<sup>2</sup> sont extrêmement anciens, et, par conséquent, sans relation, semble-t-il, avec les conquérants de l'Égypte au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ainsi de quelque côté qu'on se tourne, un art national «hyksos» reste insaisissable.

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<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa*, p. 3, pl. I.

<sup>2</sup> *The Journ. of the POS* II, 123.

## ANIMALS IN PALESTINIAN FOLKLORE<sup>1</sup>

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(JERUSALEM)

THIS paper is only an attempt to collect some sayings and ideas of the average man about animals. In no way do they claim to be complete, since I have dedicated to this work only a part of my leisure moments. Moreover, they are from a very limited area (that around Jerusalem) not the most productive one in this respect by far. Without pretending to be exhaustive, this small collection of proverbs, every-day sayings, rhymes, names and tales is comprehensive enough to help the folklorist to form an idea of his own about this interesting subject.<sup>2</sup>

No one can enter the beautiful realm of folklore, without becoming simple-hearted, even subconsciously. For though these proverbs have no relation whatsoever with each other, except by their very simplicity, they may be strung together like beads of a rosary, though each one differs entirely from the preceding, like pictures of a kaleidoscope.

I have dwelt mostly on proverbs and proverbial sayings concerning animals, as they are more characteristic than any others, with their turns and expressions that give a peculiar cast to colloquial Arabic. They are by no means obsolete, but are used by the man in the street, in and sometimes out of season. For proverbs are merely attempts to generalize an idea, an experience, a happening, a situation, once for all. Such attempts can only be at best more or less happy strokes. This holds good also in the case of animals. When they

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<sup>1</sup> I have to offer my hearty thanks to Professor W. F. Albright, Director of the American School of Archaeology, for having read the whole article and for his kind help and valuable advice.

<sup>2</sup> I have taken into this collection a considerable number of slang expressions, etc., which, of course, are used only by the lower classes, the average man objecting to their use.



- ٤٩٥ وقت ما ييجوح [ ييجحي ] الكلب اقلب الصرماية
- ٤٩٦ نت متل الكلب بنتقتل مع الناس
- ٤٩٧ اضرب الكلب بعصا لتوسخ ايديك
- ٤٨٩ بيتك متل خص الكلب لا اله منفس ولا باب
- ٤٩٩ صوفتك انسبغت متل صوفة الكلب
- ٥٠٠ قص صوف كلاب اعمل بساط
- ٥٠١ كشر الكلب عن انيابه خوف جيرانه
- ٥٠٢ كل كلاب الحاره بيدوروا على الخير
- ٥٠٣ فقس على كلب وخلع انعاله
- ٥٠٤ كلاب الحاره بتاكل من دارك
- ٥٠٥ كلاب الظهر متل كلاب العصر
- ٥٠٦ كل الكلاب التماوا على الحمام
- ٥٠٧ اعظم صاحب للكلب الحمام
- ٥٠٨ معاشره الكلاب متل معاشره اللثام
- ٥٠٩ دري كلب ولا ندري بني آدم
- ٥١٠ الكلب مرزوق
- ٥١١ الكلب ابن حلال
- ٥١٢ الكلب بيعرف لجليل
- ٥١٣ الكلب ها من من القط

- ٤٧٧ يشوف القبه بيحسبها مزار وهي مأوى للكلاب
- ٤٧٨ الغزاله الشاطره بتغزل على اجر الكلب
- ٤٧٩ اهل البلد حسدوا الكلب ع صوفه
- ٤٨٠ شفنا الكلب ع ظهره صوف حسبتاه خروف
- ٤٨١ لا تنعري من قصاص كلب صوف
- ٤٨٢ خلق باب يزوي من الكلاب
- رفع اجره . رفع اجره
- ٤٨٣ حلم الكلاب فتافيت
- ٤٨٤ كلبا هن الكلب دنبه .
- ٤٨٥ دوس على دنبه ترى عجبته
- ٤٨٦ من عص ع دنبك
- ٤٨٧ بيجوح ( ببعوي ) زي الكلب
- ٤٨٨ طول النهار في بعضهن هو هو
- ٤٨٩ جرس ع طيز كلب
- ٤٩٠ اعوج زي دنب الكلب
- ٤٩١ زي فرمان الكلاب مين ييقرا ومين يسمع؟
- ٤٩٢ خويف زي الكلب
- ٤٩٣ زي كلب الجرده
- ٤٩٤ عيشة كلاب

- ٤٦٠ كل كلب في بلاده ديب
- ٤٦١ كلب بيعضش اخوه
- ٤٦٢ كشر عن نابك الكل بهابك
- ٤٦٣ الي اصله كلب لازم ينج
- ٤٦٤ متل كلب اليهود ما بيعوي غير عالفقرا
- ٤٦٥ كلب يعوي معاك ولا كلب يعوي عليك
- ٤٦٦ بيرعى الكلاب عالنص
- ٤٦٧ يا راعي الكلاب شو نابك غير البهدله ونقطيع ثيابك؟
- ٤٦٨ الي بيعتاز الكلب بقولله يا شيخ احمد (يا حاج احمد)
- ٤٦٩ بوس الكلب عَتمه تى تقضي غرضك منه
- ٤٧٠ من قلة الخيل شدوا عالكلاب سروج
- ٤٧١ الهي الكلب بعضمه
- ٤٧٢ انا بقول لخدائي . خدائي بيقول للكلاب . والكلاب بيلولح  
بدنبه
- ٤٧٣ المسنم (المنحوس) لو ركب الجمل بيعضه الكلب
- ٤٧٤ الايد الي ما بتقدر تعضها بوسها وادعي عليها بالكسر
- ٤٧٥ الكلب بدخل دارهم بيطلع ناقص نفده
- ٤٧٦ الاسمر كلب والايبض كلب وكلهن كلاب اولاد كلاب

- ٤٤٤ ما ضاعت العصا بالكلب
- ٤٤٥ ان شفت سايب سيده خلي الكلاب تنبيه
- ٤٤٦ شوف وسيب وخلي الكلاب تنيب
- ٤٤٧ خرى الكلب ولا رجا بني آدم
- ٤٤٨ يلعن الدباغه الي بتحتاج لخرى كلاب
- ٤٤٩ الكلاب بيجو عوا بيجو عوا تي ينطوا  
وبيوكلوا بيوكلوا تي يبطو
- ٤٥٠ خليه يعوي زي الكلب
- ٤٥١ سلم الكلب عاجزو
- ٤٥٢ متك زي الكلب الي شبعان لبن
- ٤٥٣ كلب خلف جرو طلع انجس من اباه
- \* كان في الحارة كلب اقلق الناس عواه  
خلف الملعون جرواً فاق في اللعن اباه
- ٤٥٤ حاطط دبه بين اجريه
- ٤٥٥ جواحه نواحه
- ٤٥٦ كل كلب على مصطبه نباخ
- ٤٥٧ الكلب في داره سبع
- ٤٥٨ الكلب ما بتشاطر الا في باب داره
- ٤٥٩ الكلب بتفاشر في محله



- ٤٣١ اقطع راس الكلب بتعرفه من ذنبه .  
 ٤٣٢ ان كان الحماء بتحب الكنه بتطيح الكلاب في الجنة  
 ان نزل الكلب عاجنه الحماء بتحب الكنه

- { كلب داير ولا سبع نايم  
 كلب داير ولا اسد رابض [رابط] } ٤٣٣  
 { كلب حي ولا اسد ميت  
 كلب فالت ولا سبع مربوط }

- ٤٣٤ الي بده يا كله الكلب يا كله السبع  
 ٤٣٥ مش كل كلب بيكون « سمور »  
 ٤٣٦ مثل الكلاب بالسفر تعبنا وبالحضر جوعنا  
 ٤٣٧ زي الكلب راضي بالقلة والراحه  
 ٤٣٨ زي الكلاب عند الزحمة بتغيب .  
 ٤٣٩ زي القرفه بتمسح الزباب وتشنخ الكلاب  
 ٤٤٠ الكلب امين نجس عاطل ردي الطبع والاصل  
 ٤٤١ الكلب انجس ما يكون اذا اغتسل  
 ٤٤٢ اطعم كلبك بحرس دارك جوع بسك ييوكل فارك  
 \* اجمع كلبك يتبعك  
 ٤٤٣ ربي كلبك بعقر جمنك

- ٤١٩ وقع الفار من السقف . قاله القط : الله !  
 جاوبه الفار : ان سلمت منك خير من الله .  
 ٤٢٠ وقع العصفور عن السجرة . قاله القط : الله !  
 قاله : اسلم منك الف خير من الله  
 ٤٢١ القطه بتوكل عشاء .  
 ٤٢٢ هدي آخرة التعريص ياقط المنيوك  
 ٤٢٣ شوارب القط . دان القط . حنون بس . بيض القط  
 ٤٢٤ الحاجه قطه . n. p. f. بس . بسه . بسيس . بسيسو .  
 ابو البس . القط . القطاطي . قطيط n. g.

### الكلب . الجرو

- ٤٢٥ الكلب كلب ولو طوقه بذهب  
 ٤٢٦ الكلب ولو تسمنه ما بتاكل  
 ٤٢٧ مش كل ما يسمن الكلب بتاكل لحمه  
 ٤٢٨ وين ما راح السيل جرف ووينما راح الكلب هرف  
 ٤٢٩ نهيتك ما انتهيت والطبع فيك غالب  
 ٤٣٠ دنب الكلب اعوج ولو انحط في مية قالب  
 اقطع دنبه الكلب ودليها والي فيه عاده ما يخليها

- ٤٠٥ القطة لها سبع ارواح
- ٤٠٦ بوزن القط بدنه
- ٤٠٧ ذكرنا القط اجي ينط
- ٤٠٨ احسن ما نقول للقطة: «بس» اقطع اجرها
- ٤٠٩ عنين مثل عينين البس
- ٤١٠ القطة جاءت واكلت اولادها  
\* اعق من الهرة
- ٤١١ يخزى وبدفن مثل البس
- ٤١٢ [ان] راح البس العب يا فار  
غاب القط اسرح [امرح] يا فار
- ٤١٣ زي القط والكلب
- ٤١٤ ان انزر القط بهجم عالكلب
- ٤١٥ زي البس والفار
- ٤١٦ مثل القطة بتكل عينها بلحس طيزها
- ٤١٧ نلحس بعضك البعض (يا لا بعد)
- ٤١٨ اللي بيلاعب القط بصبر على خراميشه (مخاميشه)

٣٩١ قرد يشتالك (يالابعد)

٣٩٢ لعبة القرد المربوط

٣٩٣ يا قرد ! (مقرود)

### القطم . البس . القط البري

٣٩٤ خطية القط ما بتنط

٣٩٥ شكرنا القط خري بالباطيه (الحاويه . الطحين)

٣٩٦ اقطع راس البس في يوم العرس [ ٠٠ ليلة ٠٠ ]

[ كان من قبيله يا هبيله ]

٣٩٧ الناس بالناس والقطه حامله خلاص

٣٩٨ زي القطا ط بتقرا على غير علم

مثل القط اكال نكار

مثل القطا ط بتاكل وبتنكر

٤٠٠ زي القط ييوكل وبلحس تمه

٤٠١ بلحس مسني وبنام متني

٤٠٢ زي اللي ييوكل القط عاجبن

٤٠٣ قط ما يبييع جبهه

٤٠٤ زي البس كيفا رميته بيحي واقف



٣٧٤ دمه اخف من دم الجرادين

٣٧٥ الفاره .

٣٧٦ فار . ابو جريس . الجرودن . جريديني n.g.

٣٧٧ فاره . عين فاره . بيت فار loci

القرود . السعدان .

٣٧٨ يا ماخذ القرود على ماله . بيغني المال ويبقى القرود على حاله

٣٧٩ وجه مثل دهن القرود لا يتعفر ولا يبيضوي

٣٨٠ وشه مثل وش القرود (وجه)

٣٨١ اتطلع القرود بالمرأي شاف حاله غزال

٣٨٢ القرود في عين امه غزال

٣٨٣ وين كنت يا قروده لما كنت انا ورده ؟

٣٨٤ صباح القروود ولا صباح الاجرود

٣٨٥ قرد يبسلبك ولا غزال بمقتك

٣٨٦ صفي القرود لمعط الجلد

٣٨٧ القرود قاعد عالصندل

٣٨٨ هالقرود بدو هالجنزير

٣٨٩ قرد دقردين وثلاثه

٣٩٠ قرد (قردين) وحارس وحمال مكانس

الفار . الجرسه . والجردون

- ۳۵۷ فار وقع بالطحين تهموا كل الفيران  
 ۳۵۸ زي الفاره بتيجي غير باب دارها  
 ۳۵۹ اهورا كب الفار علي ؟  
 ۳۶۰ يحسب حاله ان ركب الفاره علي  
 ۳۶۱ زي الفاره اكاله نكاره  
 ۳۶۲ فاره ما وسعها خزقها دسوا وراها مرزبه  
 ۳۶۳ جابوا الخيل ليخدوها اجي الفار مد دنبتة ( ايده )  
 ۳۶۴ قده قد الفاره وحسه مملي لحاره ( القد ۱۰۰۰ الحس ۰۰ )  
 ۳۶۵ فلان يلعب الفار في بيته  
 ۳۶۶ بيحوا فيران ويبروحوا ثيران  
 ۳۶۷ بيت الفاره مغاره  
 ۳۶۸ اعبة البس والفار  
 زي البس والفار  
 ۳۶۹ اسنانه مثل اسنان الفار  
 ۳۷۰ سنان الزغار يقرر مطها الفار  
 ۳۷۱ بالبع فاره  
 ۳۷۲ زي جردون الخرے  
 ۳۷۳ زي جرادين الخماره عمي وسكارے

- ٣٤٣ الغزاة : الشمس  
 ٣٤٤ عين الغزال plants • قطين غزال • قرون غزال  
 ٣٤٥ سن غزال  
 ٢٤٦ عين الغزال • قفز الغزال  
 ٣٤٧ طه واوريه يا غزال  
 ٣٤٨ دير غزاله • عين غزال • loci  
 ٣٤٩ } غزال n. p. m. غزاله n. p. f.  
 } غزال • ابو غزاله • غزاله • غزالي n. g.

### الغول

- ٣٥٠ البعيع بالفرشه والدح بالسندوق  
 ٣٥١ عند الغول عرس يالله الغول يشبع  
 ٣٥٢ الغول اكل كل الدنيا ما عدا مرته  
 ٣٥٣ محبة الغول لابنه  
 ٣٥٤ شوفته زي شوفة الغول  
 ٣٥٥ حبل النسوان غلبوا حبل الغيلان  
 ٣٥٦ عليه كرش مثل كرش الغول بوكل ما يشبع

- ٣٢٩ نام في ظل السبع ولو انه يوكلك  
 ٣٣٠ كلب داير ولا سبع مربوط  
 ٣٣١ كلب طيب ولا سبع ميت  
 ٣٣٢ الوحش n. g.

- السعدان . راجع الفرد  
 ٣٣٣ وجهه احمر زي طيز السعدان  
 ٣٣٤ السعدان Tribus  
 ٣٣٥ مسعدن

- الضبع  
 ٣٣٧ مثل الي طاقعله الضبع  
 ٣٣٨ المضبوع  
 ٣٣٩ ضبوعه n. g. locus

- الغزال  
 ٣٤٠ يا بادلين غزال انكم بقرو  
 ٣٤١ قالوا للغزاله : ارحلي . شوشحت ذنبها  
 ٣٤٢ حتي يصير من صوف الغزال عبا



الدب

- ٣١٧ قال: شو شغل الدب؟ قال: حرير يكب.  
 ٣١٨ اعطي الدب حرير يكب  
 ٣١٩ كل الدباب رقصت غير دب المزرعة  
 ٣٢٠ قام الدب قى يرقص قتل ست سبع تنفس  
 ٣٢١ زي الدب ما بيعي الا بالنخز  
 ٣٢٢ لعبة الدب والسعدان

الديب . الديبه

- ٣٢٣ اذكر الديب وهيله القضيبي  
 ٣٢٤ الك والا للديب؟ فشر الديب.  
 ٣٢٥ كل الوحوش بتعوي والسمعه للديب  
 ٣٢٦ { ديب . دياب . ديبان n. f. m.  
 ديب . ديه . دياب n.g.  
 ديه . n.p.f.  
 ٣٢٧ ديه = عظمة الديب . زردة رقبته : لاسعاه

السبع . راجع: الاسد

- ٣٢٨ اقمع في قلب سبع ولا تقعد في قلب بني آدم

٣٠٤ خروف . خروفه . خرفان . نجمة . ابونعاج . طلي . n.g.

معو . معلوف . غنيمات . ابوغنام الجدع

٣٠٥ ابوايه . ابودله . مرعي . nomina ridicula

٣٠٦ اعمى زي الخلد

٣٠٧ مثل الخلد راس بلا عينين

الخنزير . الخنزير البري . الخنوص

٣٠٨ شعره من ذنبه الخنزير مكسب

٣٠٩ شعره من طيز الخنزير برکه

٣١٠ رش ما يرمي خنازير

٣١١ مرق عني ما سلم مثل خنزير مبلم

٣١٢ وقح زي الخنزير

٣١٣ اوسخ من الخنزير

٣١٤ خميس . خنوص . خنزير . مخنزور

٣١٥ خنزيره . locus

٢١٦ ناب الخنزير البري

- ٣٨٩ الثعلب Tribus
- ٣٩٠ حصيني . ابو الحصين . حصينات . صوي
- ٣٩١ خصي الثعلب
- الحروف . الكبش . النعجه . الطلي . البياض . الغنم . السميت
- ٣٩٢ يا ما كل خروف فات امه عالمسلخ
- ٣٩٣ اللي بيوخذ الحروف يحمي امه .
- ٣٩٤ صوفك وخر وفك مالي عين تشوفك
- ٣٩٥ غنم بلا راعي لا عتب الا عالنظر
- ٣٩٦ ابنت كلما بنتلها قرن اكسر لها الف .
- ٣٩٧ صوفته حمرا
- ٣٩٨ ناصح معكك مثل الحروف
- ٣٩٩ النعجه نطت . قالت العنزہ احو . قائلها : انت طول حياتك مكشفه انا بينت سبتي مره
- ٣٠٠ قال : حميتك نجتك من الديب . قال : وينها ؟
- قال : اكلتها . قال : انت والديب مثل بعض
- ٣٠١ برج الحمل
- ٣٠٢ خروف . غنمي ! غنيم غنام n.p.m.
- ٣٠٣ نعجه n.p.f.

- ٢٧٤ دابتكم بتقرب دابتنا من جهة الرضاعة .
- ٢٧٥ ابن حمارتنا
- ٢٧٦ كل الحمير بـتـنـخـز [ تنجوزت ] غير انت يا مال الظفر
- ٢٧٧ مدندل دنيه
- ٢٧٨ جحش . جحيش . جحشان . جحشات . ابو حمار . ابو حمور .  
 ابو حمير . حمارنه . قطشه . n. g.
- ٢٧٩ حمير . n. p. m.
- ٢٨٠ . . . . .
- الحصيني . الثعلب . الواوي . الصوي .
- ٢٨١ الله يقيمك من دهر ميال صار الحصيني بالسهمل خيال
- ٢٨٢ كل حصيني في بلاده ذيب .
- ٢٨٣ حصيني ناك حصينيه على نقشه قالها : ارجعي  
 قالتله : على فراشك اللين
- ٢٨٤ ضربها ابو الحصينيات وعشرت
- ٢٨٥ قال : واوي بلع منجل قال : عند خراه بتسمع عواه
- ٨٦ من قصر ديلك يازعر
- ٧٨ طويل عاسنانك ، بعيد عن اسنانك
- ٨٨ مكارزي الواوي



- ٢٥٦ الحمار في قاع البيت والعلف عالمصطبه  
لا الحمار طايبله ولا العلف جايله
- ٢٥٧ كل شيء يشبه قانيه حتى الحمار والي شاربه
- ٢٥٨ زي الي بيسلي الحمار بقشور بطيخ
- ٢٥٩ زي المضيع جحشة خالته ان لاقاها مغني وان ما لاقاها مغني
- ٢٦٠ مثل فص الكر لا ينفع ولا يضر
- ٢٦١ بنيك جحاش [لا بحال ولا بحررم]
- ٢٦٢ ابو الجحشات . فلان اساته بنيك جحاش
- ٢٦٣ الضرب للحمار
- ٢٦٤ ركه واحد راح يسقيه
- ٢٦٥ وين رايح فيه ؟ عالعين
- ٢٦٦ حمار العين وعطشان
- ٢٦٧ بيرفس وبيعض
- ٢٦٨ حمير بدو السيبد
- ٢٦٩ حمار قبرصي
- ٢٧٠ كر . كرش . حجرشه
- ٢٧١ جحش . جحش عيره . جحش السقاله . مجاحشة جحشنه
- ٢٧٢ الله مسخنه حمار
- ٢٧٣ ناقصه حلس . لابس سرج

- ٢٣٧ ربنا ما يحيط اقمهره غير الحميمير المدبره
- ٢٣٨ خيل بيضر بو جحاش
- ٢٣٩ موت يا حمار ته يجيك العليق
- ٢٤٠ زي الي راكب عالحمار وبيقول نيا لكم باللي عالوطاه
- ٢٤١ عزموا حمار عفرح قال: يا للخطب يا للمي
- ٢٤٢ لا تاخذ حماره وامها في الحاره
- ٢٤٣ ته يطلع الحمار عالميدنه
- ٢٤٤ تيطلع الحمار عالتش
- ٢٤٥ اربط الجحاش مطرح ما بيتولك صاحبه
- ٢٤٦ جحاش بتضرب خيل
- ٢٤٧ اربط الحمار عند الكدش يا بيعلمه الشهيقي يا بيعلمه النيك
- ٢٤٨ طويل وعريض مثل حمير الابارصه
- ٢٤٩ زي حمار الخيخام عاقل شيطان
- ٢٥٠ الحمار حمار ولو صار قاضي بلاد
- ٢٥١ زي حمار الخيخام من نص هيش بوقف [ان قلته ٠٠٠]
- ٢٥٢ نط الحمار عالسنخل قاله: وسع قال: ما من عين بعد عينك
- ٢٥٣ نصيبك: الي صاب الحمار يصيبك
- ٢٥٤ اكل ومرعى وقلة صنعه زي الحمار الفرار
- ٢٥٥ [الحان] البيت ضيق والحمار رفاس [لباط]

- ٢٢١ ضرطت حمارتنا في اسطبل جارتنا  
صارت نقولها مرحباً يا قرابتنا
- ٢٢٢ التعليم في الكبير مثل الدب (الضرب) في الحمير
- ٢٢٣ ماتت الحماره وانقطعت الزبارة
- ٢٢٤ زي عجوز النور قطيع بالزاد وثقله عالذواب  
زي عجوز النور قطيع بالفت وثقله عالحمير
- ٢٢٥ اشيء طويل طويل ما يبطول بز الحماره (الطريق)
- ٢٢٦ كل من يبسوق حمارته ببصارته
- ٢٢٧ قولة حاب تسوق كل الحمير (ها: البغال)
- ٢٢٨ زب الحمار بده قنديل
- ٢٢٩ شوف شو بيقول اخوك
- ٢٣٠ زي حمير الطاحونه
- ٢٣١ هي الدار قبل الحمار
- ٢٣٢ هذا حمارك اللي فارقه
- ٢٣٣ ما بتخفي حماره وبنتها في الحماره
- ٢٣٤ لوما ركبتك على حماري ما عرفت شوفي خرجي
- ٢٣٥ ما قدرت عالحمار عضيت البردعه
- اللي ما يقدر عالحمار يينط عالبردعه
- ٢٣٦ الفص الحزق من الحمار المغير

- ٢٠٢ اشبي مدور عاليكار عدسه يا طور افهم يا حمار
- ٢٠٣ سكتناله دخل بحماره
- ٢٠٤ نيك الحماره ولا نيك الجاره
- ٢٠٥ مقصر وفصه حامي ويضرط من طيز وسيمه
- ٢٠٦ انا امير وانت امير ومين سواق الحمير؟
- ٢٠٧ انت كبير وانا كبير ومين بيرعى الحمير؟
- ٢٠٨ زي حمير الجعب بنهق وهو على جنبه
- ٢٠٩ الحمار الاخضر قبلما يطلع من بطن امه بعرج
- ٢١٠ مثل نيك الحمير لالذه ولا طعمه
- ٢١١ كبر الحمار وزغرت البردة
- ٢١٢ رخاوة الحزام بتورت الدبر
- ٢١٣ قال يا حمار اهلك بندهولك قال : ياعَ حطب ياعَ حمي
- ٢١٤ حس طبول في اسطمبول اذا ضرب الحمار الخدر
- ٢١٥ زي الحمار الاخضر ما يميشيش غير بالنخزه
- ٢١٦ زي الحمار الاخضر بتعرف في المكر وانت في بطن امك
- ٢١٧ زي اولاد الحمير ملاح وانتو صغار وانتو كبار بتصيرو حمير
- ٢١٨ زي الحمير اولهن للعذاب واخرتهن للسكلاب
- ٢١٩ في كانون الاصم يشيخ الحمار قيح ودم
- ٢٢٠ عمره العدو ما يصير حبيب الا ما يصير الحمار طيب



## الحمار . الجحش . الكر

- ١٨٥ ان عملت مكارى وسع باب دارك
- ١٨٦ يباهى الحمار عن عليه
- ١٨٧ حمار مواف ولا غزال مخالف
- ١٨٨ التكرار يعلم الحمار
- ١٨٩ موت الحمير فرج للكلاب
- ١٩٠ زي حمار التراسه الحمل بظهره والنحت بقعره .
- ١٩١ بعد عزى ودلالى بيتونى فى خان
- ١٩٢ امسك الحمار وخذ باجه
- ١٩٣ بتعلم البيطره فى حمير النور
- ١٩٤ زي المشتري الرسن قبل الحمار
- ١٩٥ بعد راسى لا راس يعيش وبعد حمارى لا نبت حشيش
- ١٩٦ شوبيفهم الحمير باكل الجنزبل ١؟
- ١٩٧ ما بتلاقي الفص الحدق الا عند الجحش المغير
- ١٩٨ غليظ العقل زي الحمار
- ١٩٩ زي حمير الطاحونه
- ٢٠٠ مثل الحمار كيفما درته بدار
- ٢٠١ لو يلبس الحمار ثياب قز بيظل الحمار حمار

۱۷۰. انظر يا كدیش ته یطلع الحشیش .  
 ۱۷۱. راح بین اجرین الخیل  
 ۱۷۲. بوخ لسان و بول حصان  
 ۱۷۳. الخیل بطونها کنز و ظهرها عنز  
 « ظهورهن عنز و بطونهن کنز »  
 ۱۷۴. لسانك حصانك ان صنته صانك وان خنته خانك  
 ۱۷۵. بطلان مثل الحصان .  
 ۱۷۶. فالت بلا رسن .  
 ۱۷۷. بده هنرة رسن .  
 ۱۷۸. زي خيل الدباكه  
 ۱۷۹. حشيشه بشيشه نياك الكدیشه  
 ۱۸۰. اصیل . رهوان . کدیش  
 ۱۸۱. کحله . کیشه . مخلدیه . معتقیه . عیه .  
 ( بنات مشهور )  
 جلفه . شویمه . صقلاویه . جریبه . هدیه . طویسه . توفلیه .  
 اهلیمیه . النعامه . النعیج . الغزاله . ام عرقوب . الحمدانیات .  
 ۱۸۲. خیال الزرقا . الحمرا . الخضرا الخ .  
 ۱۸۳. دنب فرس  
 ۱۸۴. فارس . ابو مهر . n. g.

- ١٥٣ انت مثل خيل الدولة ملحمها ع ذيلها  
 ١٥٤ جابوا الخيل نيمدوها مد الفار اجره  
 ١٥٥ لا يركب الخيل الا كل من يعاديا  
 لا تركب الخيل يا ٠٠٠ لتعديها  
 ١٥٦ محجل الثلاثة وشرابته بتشرب معه  
 ١٥٧ الي بتا كله سمحه بترده الي بيا كله فندس خساره  
 ١٥٨ ثلاثة كعبهم يا خير يا شر: الدار والمرأ والفرس  
 ١٥٩ الفرس الاصيله ما بيعيها اجالها  
 ١٦٠ اشي قد الدبور بطرد الخيل من البور: الرصاصه  
 ١٦١ ما كل من ركب الخيل صار فارس  
 ١٦٢ الفرس من الفارس  
 الخيل كعاب وعتاب  
 ١٦٣ مثلما ندرج الغربان ندرج الفرس من الفارس  
 ١٦٤ الفرس بتروز خيالها والمرارجالها  
 ١٦٥ الي ماله عيله يقناله كخيله  
 ١٦٦ الي ما ييقدر عاجرا وعايقها يلوص من طريقها  
 ١٦٧ الشعر لو فيه خير ما طلع ع دناب الخيل  
 ١٦٨ من قلة الخيل شدينا ع الكلاب سروج  
 ١٦٩ يحضر المدود قبل الفرس

- ١٣٨ ان كنت جمال وسع باب دارك
- ١٣٩ كلما خصينا جمل بتستفحل ناقة
- ١٤٠ الجمل يوكل سف ويخزى لف
- ١٤١ خايزي الجمل الخايز
- ١٤٢ بيع القعيد واشتريلك فاطر
- الجمل القعيد ما يسر الخاطر
- ١٤٣ مثل بعر الجمل كلما له لورى
- ١٤٤ زي حراث الجمل الي يبحرته بيلبده
- ١٤٥ ته يطلع للجمل قرون
- ١٤٦ جمل · جمل العيله · جمل الرجال · جمل المحامل · يا جملي
- ١٤٧ جمال · جملون ·
- ١٤٨ جمل · جميل · ذباح الجمل · ابو القاعود · قاعود · قعدان
- n.g. قعيدان
- ١٤٩ جمل · قاعود · قعدان · قعيدان · n. p. m.
- ١٥٠ الناقة n. p. f.
- ١٥١ ام الجمال · بيت جمال · كفر الجمال loci
- المحصان · المهر · الفرس · الكدش · الخيل ·
- ١٥٢ الي بطول العمر اخذك بنات ركبك صافنات مشيك على ثبات



- ١٢٠ سألوا الجمل: أينش كارك؟ قالهم بطرز قالو له: يسلموا هالديات
- ١٢١ ان وقع واحد عن الجمل قال الجمل: الله!
- ون وقع واحد عن البغل قال البغل: كسر قطم،
- ١٢٢ حشنام حبه حبه اجى الجمل غيهم غبه
- ١٢٣ الى اله ودنه (شعره) في الجمل يبركه (يبرخه)
- ١٢٤ جمل مطرح جمل برك
- ١٢٥ كول اكل الجمال وقوم قومة الرجال
- ١٢٦ غب عبة الجمال وقوم قومة (قبل) الرجال
- ١٢٧ دق دقات الجمل وقوم قومة الرجال
- ١٢٨ طلعت من باب الجمال
- ١٢٩ المستعجل ما يسوق جمال
- ١٣٠ لحم الغزلان بالمشاويل ولحم الجمال بالقناطير
- ١٣١ كبر الجمل من قولة حيط
- ٢٣٢ من شخاخ الجمل
- ١٣٣ الجمل اسمه جمل
- ١٣٤ اسم الجمل قتله
- ١٣٥ قد الجمل
- ١٣٦ زي الجمل يوكل حملة
- ١٣٧ زي الجمل والشبرقة

- ١٠٢ لو بشوف الجمل حردبته بوقع وبكسر رقبتة  
 ١٠٣ ياريت رقبتى مثل رقبة الجمل  
 ١٠٤ الجمل بلا مراره  
 ١٠٥ مدبر زي الجمل  
 ١٠٦ اعرج الجمل من شفته (وقع وانكسرت رقبتة)  
 ١٠٧ يا ما كسر الجمل بطيخ ، ويا ما كسر البطيخ جمال ،  
 ١٠٨ امشي بين الغنم واركب الجمل وقول ما حدش شايفني  
 ١٠٩ طويل وهبيل وعقله جوزتين عجمل  
 ١١٠ ياما مرقع الجسر قفول  
 ١١١ بعث الجمل مش متأسف عالرسن  
 ١١٢ ثلاثة ما بنخفوا الحب والحبل والركب عالجمل  
 ١١٣ قالوا للجمل : حوقال : ما بعد عينكم عين  
 ١١٤ قولة حرة بتسوق كل الجمال  
 ١١٥ قالوا للجمل : شو يطلع بيدك ؟ قلمهم : بجيك  
 ١١٦ قالوا للجمل : شو يطلع بتمك ؟ قلمهم : بدق عالنايه  
 ١١٧ قالوا للجمل : زمر : قال : لاشفاني مطبقه ولا اصابعي مفرقة  
 ١١٨ قالوا للجمل : صفر : قال : بدي شلاطيف صحاح  
 ١١٩ قالوا للجمل : شو صنعتك ؟ قال : كباب حرير  
 قالوا له : بلبق لا يدبك الطايين .

- ٨٤ سنة الثور  
 ٨٥ ثور معرعر  
 ٨٦ بقره معشره . بقره شانیه  
 ٨٧ شوفلك واحد یرعاک  
 ٨٨ اربطه او طورسه  
 ٨٩ اجلک ثور ( حیوان . بهیم ) ما عندوش ادراک  
 ٩٠ حرام علیک الحیوان مالوش لسان  
 ٩١ طه واوره  
 ٩٢ لطیز الثور  
 ٩٣ من طیز الثور  
 ٩٤ فلان ینیک الثور  
 ٩٥ محمد یدیع بقرته ویلحقها بالطوس  
 ٩٦ بده یحلبنی  
 ٩٧ بلهت مثل الثور  
 ٩٨ جوز یصلح للحراثة  
 ٩٩ بقره ردیئة

الحمل . الناقة . البغیر . القعود . القصید

- ١٠٠ ان ضاعوا الجمال غابت عنک الخیل ، ( عد الرسان )  
 ١٠١ ان وقع الجمل بتکثر سکا کینه

- ٦٥ ما بفلح الارض غير عجلوها  
٦٦ ما يحمل الجور [الظلم] الا الثور  
٦٧ الحق نطاح  
٦٨ بقر الدير في زرع الدير  
٦٩ ان حالت بقرة سنه بذبحها  
٧٠ حاطط طر بوشه عقرة  
١٧ الي يصير مراكيبي يجيب الهواء من قرونه  
٧٢ شوف البقرة قبلما تحلبها  
٧٣ الملقى عراس القلم  
٧٤ زي القيقوب ما يقرص الا البقر  
٥٧ يا ربي سبحانك ما اكثر ثيرانك!  
٦٧ فلان يعبذك العجل .....  
٧٧ الي بتعجبه الاجره ييعاود عالمارس  
٧٨ العجيل . العجيلات n. g.  
٧٩ البقاره Tribus  
٨٠ جلفه صبحه n. p. f.  
٨١ جاموس n. g.  
٨٢ برج الثور  
٨٣ لسان الثور

٤٨ عنزه Tribus

٤٩ الشاه: سنخل . سنخله . جدري . سكسك nomina gentile

٥٠ عين جدي locus et tribus

٥١ لحم السواد

٥٢ سرب الغنم Sariba

٥٣ زرب: زربه للسنحول

٥٤ المقرون = الشبابه [عند الفلاحين] ق = g

٥٥ مبعر anus: بفلق البعره باسنانه

الثور . البقره . العجل . الخولي

٥٦ منقول ثور بقول احلبوه

٥٧ ما ييضل عالمذاود الا اوشم البقر

٥٨ لحم الهرش ما ييشتروه بقرش

٥٩ ان وقع الثور بتكتر سلاخينه

٦٠ اعور من غير جقامه مثل الثور بلا علامه

٦١ مثل الثور الابرق [كل الناس بتعرفه]

٦٢ مضربات العنصره والذات شباط

٦٣ التلم الاعوج من الثور الكبير

٦٤ وين ما برطع العجل في المارس



- ٢٩ قالوا للفلاح: خذ النياسه نصها قال: لا والله كلها انا ابو عيال
- ٣٠ النياسه الها دلايل
- ٣١ يا أي التيوس رزقهم بسهولة واهل الفصاحة مخوسين،
- ٣٢ غير مراكك بسمين معزاك
- ٣٣ كل شاه معلقة من عرقوبها
- ٣٤ الشاه على الجبل يتحلب رطلين بلا دره النحله:
- ٣٥ غنمنا سود كلما كثروا تحرك العود: الخط والقلم
- ٣٦ طلعت الجديه تعلم امها الرغية
- ٣٧ اهو جدي بلعب عتيس؟
- ٣٨ زي الجدي المشني بمص كل الغنم وبيظل يصيح
- ٣٩ العنزه بتقول: لولا دقاره في الراعي لا شبع من دراعي
- ٤٠ اللي يحضر عنزته بتجيله نوم
- ٤١ اللي ما يحضر عنزته ما بتجيله سخله
- ٤٢ حملوه عنزه ضرط قال: دير عليه بنتها
- ٤٣ زيا بتعمل العنزه بالعفص العفص بيعمل بجلدها
- ٤٤ تيس (بقرون والحيه) خل تتي
- ٤٥ اله قرون [حطتله قرون]
- ٤٦ شكروك في المسالخ
- ٤٧ برج الجدي

### البغل

- ١٥ قالوا للبغل: مين ابوك؟ قال: الحصان خالي  
 ١٦ ركبناك عالبغال العرج مديت ايدك عالخرج  
 ١٧ زي البغل بيموت وشهوته في ظهره  
 ١٨ المنحوس منحوس لو علقوا عطيزه فانوس  
 [ان ضرط بطفيه وان فسى ينوس]  
 ١٩ يضرط زي البغل الطالع من الخان  
 ٢٠ زي البغل الشموص،،  
 ٢١ بغل. g. n.  
 ٢٢ بغل زرزوري . بغداداي

### التيس . العنز . الشاه . الجدي . السنخل . الطارش

- ٢٣ العنز الجربا [ما] بتشرب [غير] من راس النبع  
 ٢٤ قالوا للعنز: ارحلي حركت ذنبها  
 ٢٥ العنز مطرح ما بتقيل بتعزل مطرحها  
 ٢٦ با بادل السنخله بنخله الشي الدون بالشي العال  
 ٢٧ طولة طول النخله وعقله عقل السنخله  
 ٢٨ الشاه المذبوحه ما بوجعها السلاخ

# Animals in Palestinian Folklore.

## I. MAMMALIA.

الاسد · السبع · الشبل · اللبوة · الوحش ·

- ١ بيت السبع ما ينجلى من العظام
- ٢ القرش في تم السبع ما يطوله الا السبع
- ٣ يوكله السبع ولا يوكله الضبع
- ٤ في قلوب السباع ولا في قلوب الضباع
- ٥ افعد بقلب سبع ولا تقعد بقلب ابن آدم ·
- ٦ لا تجري جري الوحوش غير نصيبك ما تحوش
- ٧ كلبين يغلبوا سبع
- ٨ « هذا الشبل من ذاك الاسد »
- ٩ زي السبع · انت سبع اهلك · سبع البرمبو
- ١٠ شبل · شبلي سبع خورشيد · n. p. m.
- ١١ سباعي · بيدس · ابو السباع · سبع · الاسد · n. g.
- ١٢ حليب سباعي
- ١٣ سبعك دون ربك · الله يسبعك [ يا لا بعد ]
- ١٤ برج الاسد

are mentioned proverbially, only one characteristic side is touched. There are no proverbial sayings which are not true in some way. Every proverb has been coined by someone who was superior to his contemporaries, and therefore they contain much wisdom in their expressions. In the course of time the wit of one gifted person has become the wisdom of the multitude to such a degree, that we use it daily, without thinking, and it has become an integral part of our language.<sup>1</sup>

It is unavoidable, that many of these proverbs have already been published, especially by Eberhard Baumann in ZDPV XXXIX (1916). Wherever I have the same proverb, a variant or a striking parallel to it, I have indicated it with the letter B after the Arabic transcription. A second category of proverbs, which I have taken from Dr. Canaan's hitherto unpublished collection of Palestinian proverbs, is indicated in the same way with the letter C. The letter L behind a number shows that the proverb is known either in the given form or a variant in Syria and Mount Lebanon. For these indications I am indebted to Mr. C. A. Gabriel and other friends from Syria. I tender them, and especially Dr. T. Canaan my sincerest thanks for their kind help and assistance.<sup>2</sup>

Rhymes dealing with animals, particularly nursery rhymes, I have dealt with in my article: "Palestinian Nursery Rhymes." A few other rhymes only I have included in this article. The tales have been published separately, only a few being quoted in the proper connection. The names, personal as well as gentile, are placed under their proper heading, mostly without literal translation, which I have not attempted to give. It would certainly be of interest if somebody would fill in these outlines and furnish us with a complete list of names showing the localities, etc. The Jordan Valley and Trans-Jordania would be a rich field for these attempts.

We are not indifferent to animals. When quite a baby, one is frightened by the *bu' bu'*, which in its grown-up stage as a *ghoul* does

<sup>1</sup> These proverbs, etc., are a real "spiritual possession", a sort of appendix to the vernacular. This is proved by the fact that they are automatically, sub-consciously used. For when I used to ask "old folk" who were known for their knowledge in this line, to repeat to me special sayings about a given subject, they would answer as a rule: "We cannot do that. But just listen to our talk; may be you will have what you are after."

<sup>2</sup> Woman as the more conservative sex have more proverbial sayings "in stock" than men.

not lose its terrorising effect on the childish imagination. The realm of dreams is that "happy land, far, far away," and yet quite palpable with its various fairies and fauns, ghosts and ghouls, thrilling adventure on the one hand and fulfilment of every ardent desire on the other. There, animals have quite a different function from that allotted to them in every-day life.<sup>1</sup> The camel, ever earnest, never smiling, brings no good tidings to the dreamer. Its appearance means to him bereavement or a new enemy. The ox and the dog, the lion and the snake warn the man against his foes. But try to dream of a cow, a sheep, a goat, or a cock, which will surely bring you something good! And if you are a bachelor, your good luck will increase, if you dream of a fish or a hen, for then you will soon marry. While a lamb, which you may be lucky enough to see later on, foretells the birth of a son. A real piece of good luck is announced either by an owl, a cat, or a horse. A gazelle and a donkey are the forerunners of increasing wealth. But a bird and a he-goat generally stand for loss of fortune, a mule and a ghouel for loss of position. The raven foretells sickness and the dove even death. If you happen to be in need of a friend, dream of a calf and this vital question is solved. But be sure to close your eyes tightly so as not to see either a fox or a jackal, for otherwise you must be content to hear slander about yourself. Mice and rats mean that one must take French leave. Strange to say, the tiger is a joyful messenger and the sight of a hyena entails love affairs and intrigues.

Cheer up if you see yourself on horseback, for that is luck itself. But you are far less happy if you ride a camel, which denotes hatred. A dreamer who is bitten will awake with mixed feelings and the unavoidable impression that he is envied and has foes. To eat flesh in a dream is a bad omen. One must be prepared for troubles and even sickness.

In our fairy tales we stand on a friendly footing with animals. The snake offers help three times to her rescuer.<sup>2</sup> Doves speak loud

<sup>1</sup> There are two "standard" books on the explanation of dreams, one of Ibn Sirîn, and the other from no less a person than the great humanist *ʿAbdulgâmi-n-Nâbulî*. But these explanations are not taken from either of them.

<sup>2</sup> Helping each other is one of our most common oriental virtues, which we are bound to observe from our earliest boyhood. Everybody helps the other readily, even without being asked.



with each other on purpose to give the traveller valuable information, The conversation of a donkey with an ox proves most useful to a husband, who, as a special favour for having lived a righteous life, is given the gift to understand whatever animals say to each other. Even the ghou! is touched with our oriental politeness, so that, for the time being, he forgets his cannibalism and acts against his own nature. Enchanted princes and princesses prefer to become frogs or even turtles. Sometimes they are also turned into coal-black dogs and set to watch some precious treasure. Ghosts in various animal forms haunt wells and springs.

All these animals speak, reason and understand often far better than man with his limited knowledge ever can do, and as they are supposed to have more sense than he, they are willing to help him in his various difficulties. Balaam's ass is only one instance.<sup>1</sup> And even nowadays we ask one another jokingly, what the donkey means when he brays.

From the early days, when our forefathers first related the story of the creation we have always considered the snake, with more or less right, to be the most clever of animals. And things seem to have changed little since then, when we consider our relation and friendship to animals. They may be treated differently in songs, fairy tales and proverbs. Yet we may safely say that we consider them as fellow creatures which share our toils and help us to live a comfortable life.<sup>2</sup>

### MAMMALIA

*yl-âsad*, *ys-sâb(y)'*, *iš-sîb(e)l*, *yl-lâbwe*, *yl-wâhš*. The lion, the whelp, the lioness, the beast of prey.

1. *bêt is-sâb(y)'* *mâ bîhla mn-il-y'dâm*. (B 264.) There are always bones in the lion's den. Request for help, with the idea, that one is able to help.

<sup>1</sup> Nowadays we would consider a donkey which runs close to the walls a lazy animal (cf. Num. 22 24, 25). We have, however, parallels for this story.

<sup>2</sup> A very fine specimen of this idea is expressed at the end of the Book of Jonah, where the author's love for animals is quite understandable, as in many cases the animals live together with the peasant in one and the same room (cf. 2 Sam. 12 1-4), separated by a screen or a wall.

2. *il-ʾyrš fi tūmm ys-sāb(y)ʾ mā butūlo illa (gēr) ys-sābyʾ*. No one can draw a piastre from a lion's mouth but a lion. Difficult situations and tasks cannot be overcome or performed but by able men.
3. *yōklo (yāklo) s-sāb(y)ʾ wāla yāklo d-dāb(y)ʾ*. Let a lion devour it and not a hyena. We prefer to lose to a noble adversary rather than to a mean one.
4. *fī-ʾlūb is-sbāʾ wāla fī-ʾlūb yd-dbāʾ*. Better to be eaten by lions than by hyenas. Parallel to above.
5. *hūʾud bīʾālb sābyʾ wāla tūʾod fi ʾālb ybn ādam*. (Better to) sit in the lap of a lion than in that of a man. Men are not to be trusted more than a devouring beast.
6. *la tūjri jāri-l-uhūš: gēr naṣībak mā bythūš*. Do not run like a beast; you cannot gather more than your (sc. predestined) portion. Applied to nervous, fickle persons.
7. *kalbēn bygylbu sāb(y)ʾ*. Two dogs may overcome a lion. Advice, to consider the adversaries also.
8. *hāda -š-šiblu myn dālīka -l-āsad*. Origin classical. This whelp is from that lion, i. e., a worthy son of his father.
9. *zēyy-is-sāb(y)ʾ*. Like a lion. *ynt sābʾ āhlak*. You are the lion of your people, i. e., you are the best of your tribe. *sābʾ yl-borōmbo*. The awe-inspiring lion. Used ironically.
10. *šibl* whelp, *šibly* whelp, *sāb(y)ʾ* lion, *ḥuršid* lion, personal names of men.
11. *Sāb(y)ʾ, Sbāʾy, Abu s-Sbāʾ, Āsad, Bēdas, Nomina gentilia*, the latter of Persian origin, and common to adherents of both religions.
12. *ḥalīb sbāʾy*. Lion's milk. In Jerusalem slang it stands for semen virile whereas it means in Beirūt "eau de vie."
13. *sābʾak (dūn rābʾak)*, a curse: May God destroy you (from your "people"); *āllah yisbāʾak (ya-l-ābʾad)*. May God destroy him!
14. *burj -yl-āsad*. Lion, sign in the zodiac.  
*yl-bāgl*. The mule.
15. *ʾālu lal-bāgl*: "mîn abūk?" *ʾāl*: "l-yḥsân ḥālī" (L) C. They asked the mule: "Who is your father?" He answered: "The horse is my maternal uncle."

16. *rakkabnâk 'al ibgâl yl-'ürj, maddêt idak 'al hürj* (L) B 325. We let you ride the lame mules and you put your hand in the donkey-bag. Applied to an ungrateful fellow.
17. *zâyî-l-bâgyl, bumût u šâhuto fi dâhro* B 431. Like the mule, who dies and his "lust" is still in his back. Said of a man, who deludes himself in vain hopes.
18. *yl-manhûs manhûs, lau-'âlla'u a-tÿzô fanûs* B. 174; (sc. *yn dârat bytfÿh, w-yn fâsa bynûs*).
19. *budrut zëyy-il-bâgl yt-tâly' myn-yl-hân*.
20. *zèi il-bâgl iš-šmûš* (L). Like the strong-headed mule. Said of an obstinate man.
21. *bâgyl, nomen gentile*.
22. *bâgyl zarzûry*, starling coloured; *bâgyl bağdâdi*, a Baghdâd mule; these two sorts are preferred to others, and are dearer.  
*yt-tës, yl-fâh(y)l, yl-'ânze, yš-šâh, ij-jîdi, ys-sâh(e)l, yt-târš*. The he-goat, stallion, she-goat, kid, small cattle.
23. *yl-'ânze-j-jârba btîšrab myn râs yn-nâb(e)'* (L). A scabby goat drinks from the source of the spring. Variant: *yl-'ânze-j-jârba mâ btîšrab gër (ÿlla) myn râs yn-nâb'*. The scabby goat does not drink, except from the source of the spring. Used of somebody, who has an exaggerated opinion of himself, although he ought to be contented with his present state.
24. *'âlu l-al-'ânze: ÿrhalî, hârrakat danbâtha*. They said to the goat: Depart! (And) she wagged her tail. I. e., she is always ready to march, as she has nothing to pack for the journey.
25. *yl-'ânze mâtrah ma byt'âyîl byt'âzzyl matrâhha* (C). Where the goat holds her siesta, there she would clean (lit. cleanse) her place. Ex ungue leonem.
26. *yâ bâdl ys-sâhle b-nâhle, iš-šâyîd-dûn biš-šâyî-yl-'âl!* Oh (you) who have changed a kid for a palm tree: the bad thing for the excellent. Said to illustrate an inadequate exchange.
27. *tûlo tûl yn-nâhle, u-'âlo 'âl ys-sâhle* (L) and Baghdâd. The stature is that of the palm tree, and the brain that of a kid. Good looking but of questionable intellect. Variant: *iṭ-tûl*, etc. The stature, etc.

28. *yš-šāh yl-madbūha mā buwajjī'ha -s-sallāh*. The slaughtered ewe is not (no longer) hurt by the butcher. This evil is supportable in comparison to the preceding one.
29. *'ālu lal-fallāh: ḥod yt-tayāse nūṣṣha. 'āl: lā, w-ālla, kūllha: āna (a)bu 'yāl*. They said to the peasant: Take half of the stupidity (goatishness). He answered: No, by God, (I want) all of it, I have a family. Ironically used to illustrate the strongheadedness and stupidity of the country people in general.
30. *yt-tayāse ilha dalāyil*. Stupidity has its signs (proofs).
31. *"yā'ti-t-tuyāsa ryzquhum bisuhūlatyn, w-āhlu-l-faṣāḥati mabḥūsīn"*. The ignorant ones (fools) get their un hoped-for gain easily, whereas clever (lit. eloquent) people are deprived (sc. of it).
32. *gāyyir mar'āk, tisman my'zāk (C)*. Change your pastures and your goats will grow fat.
33. *kūll šāh m'ālla'a myn 'ar'ūbha* or: *by'ar'ūbha (L)*. Every ewe is hanged by her heels. ('*arqūb*: tendon of Achilles.) The punishment corresponds to the crime.
34. *iš-šāh 'āla-j-jābal btīhlīb ratlēn bāla dūrra? in-nāhle*. (There is) a ewe on the mountain which yields two rotl of milk without (having) an udder. A riddle concerning the bee.
35. *gānāmna sūd: kūllma kītru thārrak yl-'ūd: il-ḥātt w-il'ālam*. Our sheep are black (goats), as the number increases, the pencil moves. Riddle: Writing and the pen.
36. *tīl'yt ij-jdiyye t'āllym imḥha (ūmmha)r-r'yye*. The kid went out (or rose up) to teach her mother how to graze. "Don't teach your grandmother."
37. *ahū jīdī byl'ab 'a-tēs?* Can a kid play a practical joke on a he-goat? The younger is not superior to the older one.
38. *zāyy ij-jīdī-l-māšni: bymūṣṣ čill il-gānam ubyḍāll iysīl*. Like the kid, which has been weaned from the udder: He sucks all she-goats and still bleats. Said of a greedy person who complains, though having everything needed.
39. *yl-'ānze bitqūl: lōla daqāra fi-r-rā'i, l-āšba' mn-ydrā'y*. The she-goat says: If it were not to tease the shepherd, I'd be satisfied with grazing by myself. But even so she needs him. Used for a vain boaster.



40. *illi biḥḍar 'anyzto bytjiblo tōm or: saḥle*. He who is present when his she-goat drops, shall have twins (or a female kid).
41. *illi ma biḥḍar 'anyzto ma bytjiblo saḥle or jidi*. He who is not present at the dropping of his goat shall not have (even) a she-kid (or a he-kid). You must have your eyes open. Look after your business if you do not want to lose.
42. *ḥammalū(h) 'anze dārat; 'āl: dīr 'alēh bīntha*. They gave him a she-goat to carry, and he farted. (So) one said: Put her daughter on him too. Variant: *ḥammalūh 'anze dārat, ḥammalū-l-ūlra-nšarat*. They loaded a she-goat on him, and he farted. They loaded the other one on him, and he burst (split). Said of a man who cannot support a woman and who still wants to marry another one. One has to live within his income.
43. *zèyyma btj'mal yl-'anze bi-l-'āfš yl-'āfš by'mal (y)b-jyldha*. As the goat deals with the gall-nuts, the gall-nuts deal with the goat. Tit for that.
44. *tēs [buḡrūn (by'rūn) u liḥye] fūh(e)l, tīnī*. He-goat [with horns and a beard], buck, kid. a) To indicate the stupidity of someone. b) To lay stress upon it. c) For an unexperienced youth. Also ironically used.
45. *īlo 'rūn*. Cornutus est. *ḥaṭṭātlo 'rūn*. She seduced him (of a woman).
46. *šākarūk fi-l-mūsrah*. They have praised you in the slaughter house. Said to a stupid person, ironically.
47. *būrij-jidi*. Capricorn, zodiacal sign. 47a. *mrē'y*. Bell-wether, also, ringleader.
48. *(y)'nēze or 'anaze*. Name of a famous tribe in Transjordan and Mesopotamia.
49. *yš-šāh*, ewe; *saḥl, saḥle, jidi, siḥsik* kid, nomina gentilia.
50. *'ēn Jidi*. Engedi.
51. *lāḥm ys-sawād*. Goat meat.
52. *sūrb il-gānam*. Herd or flock.
53. *zārḇ, zarībe, šīre*. Sheepfold for kids.
54. *yl-magrūn*: the reed pipe of the shepherds.
- 55a. *māḇar*, anus, also a man of no importance (slang).



55b. *gāda', biḡlu il-bā'ra b-isnāno*. He's a reckless fellow, able to 'crack goats' dung with his teeth. Ironie.

*it-tôr*, the ox; *yl-bā'ara*, the cow; *yl-'ijj(e)l*, the calf; *yl-l'ûli*, the yearling calf.

56. *m(y)n'ûl: tôr, bu'ul yl(y)lbuh (uḡulbuk) (L)*. (Although) we tell him: It's an ox, he (nevertheless) says: milk it. Unreasonableness and stupidity.

57. *mâ byḡall 'al-madâwid ylla âušam il-bâqar*. None, but the poor cows remain at the manger.

58. *lâhm yl-hy'rš ma byštrû(h)ib-'yrš*. The old (sc. cow's or ox's) beef is not saleable (even) for a piastre.

59. *yn wû'(e) (y)t-tôr btiktâr sallâhîno (L)*. When the ox is down on the ground, his slaughterers are numerous.

60. *â'war myn ġer ja'âme mitl-it-tôr bâla 'alâme*. A one-eyed man without insolence (or obstinacy) is (sc. rarely to be found) like an ox without any distinguishing mark.

61. *mitl it-tôr (i)l- âbra' (âbla' L)* sc. *kûll yn-nâs btârafo*. He is like an ox with a blaze (known all over the place); all people know him.

62. *mḡarrbât yl-'ânšara, waldât šbât*. Impregnated on Pentecost, calving in February. Inevitable conclusion.

63. *it-tilm il-â'waj min it-tôr l(y)kbîr (B 49) (L)*. The crooked furrow comes from the big oxen. The big one is wrong.

64. *wêm-ma bârta' yl-'ijjyl: fi-l-mâris*. Wherever the calf frets about, it's in the ploughing field, (where work is always at hand). His luck is not to be envied.

65. *mâ byḡlah yl-ârd ġer (y)jâlha (B 530)*. No one ploughs the field (ground) but its own calves (oxen). Variant: *ma biḡrut l(y)-blâd ylla (y)jâlha*. Only the land's calves plough it. In addition to the explanations given by E. Baumann note: Only the master suits the task. Or, everyone understands his task.

66. *ma biḡmnyl ij-jôr (or id-dûlm) ġer it-tôr*. Only the ox suffers oppression (tyranny).

67. *yl-lâ'' nattâh (L)*. Truth is a butting (ox). Force of truth.

68. *bâ'ar id-dêr fi zâr' id-dêr* (L) (B 255). The cows of the convent are in the standing corn of the convent. It is quite proper to be helped by one's friends and acquaintances. Also: (originally) There is no great damage done, as it originates from one's own people.
69. *yn hâlat bâ'rato sâne bydbâhha* (B 191). When his cow does not calve for one year he kills her. Disapproval of an impatient or ungrateful person.
70. *hâtyt tarbûšo 'a-ârno* (B 277). He has his *tarbuš* on his horn. Tilting the headgear is a sign of proud, unrestrained mirth.
71. *illi byšîr marâkby byjyb yl-hâwa mn-yqrûno*.
72. *šûf il-bâ'ara 'âb(y)lma tyhîbha*. Look at the cow before you (start to) milk her. Variant: *yttâlla' fi wišš il bâ'ara* ... Look into the face of the cow, *i. e.*, think it over before you begin to do something, in order to avoid a mistake.
73. *il-mâlqa 'a-râs it-tîlm* (B 173). The meeting is at the beginning of the furrow (in the field). Whe shall see each other under the same or some special circumstances.
74. *zèyy-il- qêqûb mà bugruṣ ulla-l-bâqar* (B 339). Like the gadfly, (botfly, *tabanus bovinus*) which only stings cows. Special enmity.
75. *yâ râbbi subhânak! mâ âktar tirânak*. Oh my Lord, Praise (Glory) be to Thee! How many are Thy oxen! Exclamation, on a simpleton's behaviour.
76. *flân by'âbbdak yl-'yjl*. Blank would let you worship the calf. Used to indicate the unaccountability of someone's character.
77. *illi btî'yjbo -l-ûjra by'âuid 'al-mâris*. He who is contented with the wage returns to the field (for work).
78. *yl-(y)'jêl, yl-y'jêlât, nomina gentilia*.
79. *yl-baggâra*. Name of tribe.
80. *Jûlfa, Sâbha, nomina pers. fem.*
81. *jamûs*. Buffalo, *nomen gentile*.
82. *burj it-tôr*. Taurus, zodiacal sign.
83. *lsân it-tôr*. Anchusa.
84. *sânt it-tôr*. The year of the Bull.
85. *tôr m'âr'yr*. Scabby bull.

86. *bà'ara m'âššre*. A cow which is in the tenth month of pregnancy.  
*bà'ara šāniye*. A spoiled cow, which for some reason or other does not yield milk.
87. *šūflak wāḥad (wāḥyd) yir'āk!* (L). Get somebody to pasture you! Advice to a fool.
88. *ūrubto tōrso!* Bind his neck! Fetter his hind-leg! Said of somebody who behaves in a raving or foolish manner.
89. *ajāllak* (or *ajāll šānak*) *tōr, haiwān, b(a)ḥim, mā 'indôš idrāk* (L). May God exalt your esteem, he is (but) a bull, an animal, who has no reason (or common sense). Said contemptuously.
90. *ḥarām 'alēk, yl-ḥaiwān (ḥiḥwān) ma 'indôš (y)lsān!* It is a sin (or unlawful thing) for you! The animal has no tongue. This is said to arouse the pity of an owner who maltreats his animal.
91. *tē wāw rē!* Block-head. These are the three letters of the word "ox," *tōr*.
92. *la-tiz it-tōr*. I don't care a fig about it. Slang.
93. *flān biḡb iṣ-šāgle myn tiz it-tōr*. He'll get the thing for you from the most dangerous place. Slang.
94. *flān binīk it-tōr*. He is able to do the most reckless thing. Slang.
95. *maḥād bybī' bāgrato u-byllāgha by-t-tōs* (B 535). Nobody sells his cow and then follows her with the milking pot (sc. to the new owner, to milk her there). One has to act logically.
96. *bāddo yiḡlībni* (B 243). He wants to milk me, *i. e.*, to profit from me.
97. *byllhat mitl it-tōr*. To snort, to wheeze like a bull, to pant, to puff and blow.
98. *jōz biḡslah l(a)-l(y)l-rāte* (L). A pair just fit for ploughing. Said of two equally stupid fellows.
99. *bāgara radiyye*. A bad cow; a cow, which does not yield milk in its season for some reason or other.
- ij-jāmal*, the camel; *yn-nāga*, the she-camel; *yl-ba'ir*, the camel; *yl- ga'ūd*, the young camel, with its diminutive form; *l(y)-g'āyyid*, *yd-dalāl*, riding camel.

100. *yn dâ'u j-jmâl 'ydd yr-rsân*. If the camels stray, count the halters. Variant: *yn gâbat 'annak yl-hêl, 'ydd yr-rsân* (B 204). If the horses are absent, count their halters (sc. in order to know the missing number).
101. *yn wî'y' ij-jâmâl, bîyktar sakakîno*. Variant B 554. Cf. No. 59. When the camel has fallen, there will be many knives (to kill him).
102. *law bušuf ij-jâmâl hyrdabbto, bu'a'u-bîksyr râybtô* (B 511). If the camel could see his own hump he would (be so frightened as to) fall down and break his neck. Defending someone against an unjust critic.
103. *ya rêr râybtî myt(y)l râybt (ra'bat) yj-jâmâl!* If only I had a neck like that of the camel! (sc. I would hesitate more in speaking.)
104. *yj-jâmâl bâla marâra*. The camel has no gall (bile) (so it is very patient). He does not easily lose his temper.
105. *mdâbbar zèyy ij-jâmâl*. (He is) ulcered like the camel. Used of someone who has many wounds, as the camel is also likely to have many "raw places" on his body from the hard work.
106. *'âraj ij-jâmâl myn šiftô, wî'y' w-ynkâsrat râybtô (râ'bato)* (L) (B 398). The lameness of the camel is (surely) from his lip (lagostoma); (therefore) he fell down and broke his neck. Part two is not always quoted. Satiric remark on some vain excuse.
107. *yâ ma kâssar yj-jâmâl battîh*, and also added *yâ ma kâssar yl-battîh yjmâl*. How often did not the camel break melons (from his occasional loads)! Addition: How often did not the load of melons cause the break down of the camel!
108. *îmši bèn yl-gânam w-îrkaḥ yj-jâmâl wu-'âl: ma-ḥadâš šâyîfni*. (Yes) go among the goats, and ride a camel, and then (have the face to) say: There's nobody, who can see me. Said to somebody, who cannot hide his doings, and who thinks himself very clever.
109. *ṭawîl, u-habîl, u-'âlô jôztên 'a-jâmâl*. He is tall and silly, and his brain is (so small, that you might think it as much as) two walnuts on a camel.



110. *yâ ma mârâ* 'aj-jÿsyf y'fâl. How many caravans have already passed this bridge (so there is no special danger in doing so). Or: this is a usual thing, which does not involve one in any risks.
111. *bÿt yj-jâmal, mÿš myt'assyf 'ar-râsan*. I have already sold the camel, I do not regret (the loss of) the halter.
112. *talâte ma bÿnyhfu: yl-hubb w-yl-hâbal-wy-r-rûk(u)b 'aj-jâmal* (B 53). Three things cannot be concealed: viz. (falling in) love, pregnancy, and riding on a camel.
113. *'âlu la-j-jâmal: "ho!" 'âl: "mâ bâ'd 'enkon 'ên!"* (C). They said to the camel: *ho!* He said: That's the way to do it.
114. *'ôlyt "ho!" bytsû kùll yj-jmâl*. The word *ho* drives all camels (alike),
115. *'âlu la-j-jâmal: "šû bytla' bîdak? 'allhom: "baḥâyîk"* (C). They asked the camel: "What handicraft have you?" He answered: "I can weave." Ironically used.
116. *'âlu la-j-jâmal: "šû bÿtla' bytûmmak?" 'allhun: "badû" 'ann-nâya.*" They asked the camel: "What can you do with your mouth?" He answered: "I can play the reed-pipe."
117. *'âlu la-j-jâmal: "zâmmyr!" 'âl: "lâ šfâfi mtabbâ'a wâla ašâb'y mfârâ'a."* They asked the camel: "Play on the flute (or reed-pipe). He said: "Neither are my lips closed, nor are my fingers separated" (sc. to enable me to oblige you).
118. *'âlu la-j-jâmal: "sâffir!" 'âl: "biddi šalaḥf (y)šlâḥ"* (B 454). They said to the camel: "Whistle!" He answered: "I need 'complete' lips. *Que voulez vous?*"
119. *'âlu la-j-jâmal: "šû šan(y)tâk?" 'âl: kabbâb ḥarîn."*  
*'alûlo: "bÿlba' la-idêk y't-tayîn"* ...  
 They asked the camel: "What is your profession?" He said: "Winding up silk into a ball." They said: "That would (exactly) fit your dexterous (lit., obedient) hands."
120. *sâ'alu-j-jâmal: "êš kâarak?" 'allhum: "baṭarryz."* *'alûlo: "yislamu ha-d-dayyât!"* They asked the camel: "What is your daily occupation?" He answered them: "I am an embroiderer." They told him: "May these tiny hands of yours be kept safe." (Ironic appreciation.)



121. *yn wù'y' wâḥad 'an yj-jâmal 'âl yj-jâmal*: "âllah!" *W-yn wù'y' wâḥad 'an yl-bâḡ(y)l 'âl yl-bâḡ(e)l*: "kâssyr" ("qâttym")! If anyone falls from a camel the camel (is supposed to) say: "Allah!" (sc. may He keep you unhurt!). And if anyone happens to fall from the mule's back, the mule says: "Break!" or "cripple" (sc. the rider).
122. *hušnâhun ḥâbbe ḥâbbe, âja j-jâmal ḡâbbun ḡâbbe* (C). We gathered them grain by grain. There came the camel and ate them in a (single) mouthful.
123. *illi ilo widne fi-j-jâmal bibârrko*. He who possesses (even) a (single) ear of the camel (has the right to) make him kneel down. Variant: ... *šâ'ra ... bybârrko ...* a single hair.
124. *jâmal mâtrah jâmal bârak*. A camel has knelt down in the place of another camel, i. e., to take charge of equal work and responsibility.
125. *kôl âkl ij-jmâl u 'ûm 'ômt ir-rjâl* (L). Eat as much as a camel but stand your man (if necessary).
126. *ḡâbb ḡâbbt y-j-jmâl u 'ûm 'ômt ir-rjâl* or *'âbl ir-rjâl* (B 418). Drink in long draughts like a camel and stand your man, or stand (i. e. refrain from enjoying it) before the (other) men. Be a man.
127. *dù' dà'at yj-jmâl u 'ûm 'ômt yr-rjâl*. Strike a blow like the camel and do your duty as a man. Be a man at all costs, always.
128. *(y)tlî't myn bâb yj-jmâl*. I have neither gained nor lost in this business. Lit.: I have come out of the camels' gate.
129. *yl-mystâ'jil ma bysû' (busû') (y)jmâl*. A hurried man cannot drive camels, i. e., he is the least suited to that job.
130. *lâlm yl-ḡuzlân b-yl-mata'ûl u-lâlm yj-jmâl b-yl-'anatîr*. The meat of the gazelles is (sold) by grammes and that of the camel by qontars.
131. *kib(y)r yj-jâmal myn qôl(e)t "ḥîṭ."* The camel has grown bigger from the word "ḥîṭ!" Ironically, for negation.
132. *myn šḥâḥ yj-jâmal*. From the camel's urine. From a trifle, something insignificant attached to a big thing.

133. *yj-jàmal òsmo jàmal*. The camel is called "camel" (sc. because it works much, or because of being big).
134. *òsm yj-jàmal 'àtalo* (B 15). The name of the camel caused his death.
135. *'add yj-jàmal* (L). As big as the camel, i. e., very big.
136. *zèyy-ij-jàmal bôkul (byôkul) hÿmlo*. Like the camel, which eats up his load.
137. *zèyy ij-jàmal u-yš-šÿbrqa*. Like the camel and the thistle. While still eating the first one he already looks for another. Said of a greedy person.
138. *yn kùnt jammâl wassy' bâb dârak* (C). If you happen to be a camel-driver (owner) widen the door of your house. Our house-doors are usually small in size. One must adapt oneself to circumstances.
139. *kùllma ḥašêna jàmal b-tystàfhil nâqa* (B 485). Whenever (or as soon as) we have castrated a male camel, a she-camel becomes rutty. We thought to cope with the work but endless other difficulties have arisen.
140. *yj-jàmal bôkul sàff u bÿlra làff*. The camel eats dry food and his dung is twisted.
141. *hây(er) zàyy ij-jàmal yl-hây(er)*. To fret and fume like the enraged camel (during rutting time). To be in high dudgeon.
142. *bÿ'i-l-yq'âyid w-yštrîlač fâtÿr,*  
*yj-jàmal -l-(y)q'âyid mâ-ysirr yl-hâtÿr.*  
 Sell the young camel and buy a grown one instead,  
 (The work of) the young camel does not please.
143. *myt(y)l ba'(er) yj-jàmal kùllmâlo la-wâra* (L). Like camel's dung: always backwards. Said of a lazy, unsuccessful, timid person. Variant: *zèy šhâh yj-jàmal*, etc. Like the camel's urine (the camel urinates in a backward direction).
144. *zây (y)hrât yj-jàmal: òlli bÿhurtu bylâbbdo* (B 332). Like the ploughing of the camel, what he ploughs he tramples (thus making the soil compact again). Said of a person who spoils his own efforts by some mistake.

145. *ta yittla' la-j-jàmal y'rân* (B 284). Until the camel gets horns. Ad calendae graecas.
146. *jàmal*, in a appreciative way, a manly person; *jàmal il-'èle* the family's camel: *i. e.* the man on whose shoulder lies the responsibility for the whole family (only appreciative), or the *man* of the family. *jàmal yr-rjâl* (like the preceding: "the" man amongst men, the foremost man); *jàmal il-mahâmyl* (the draught camel; the man, on whose shoulders lies a big responsibility, or who willingly works for others); a ready helper in need. *yâ jàmaly* is a term of endearment, a pet name, applied by the mother to her son.
147. *jammâl*, camel-driver, one who has not refined habits and manners. *jamalôn*, (little camel) camel's hump, diminutive of *jàmal*.
148. *jàmal*, (*y*)*jmayyil*, *dabbâh il-jàmal*, *abu-l-ga'ûd*, *ga'ûd*, *ga'dân*, (*y*)*g'edân*. Nomina gentilia.
149. *jàmal*, *ga'ûd*, *ga'dân*, (*y*)*g'edân*, nomina personalia masc.
150. *nâga*, she-camel, nomen pers. fem.
151. *umm yj-jmâl*, *bêt yjmâl*, *kùfr ij-jmâl* *ḏahr ij-jàmal*, names of places in Palestine.  
*l-(y)hşân*, the horse; *yl-mùhur*, the colt; *il-mùhra*, the filly, or the mare; *il-fâras*, the mare; *l-(y)gdîš*, the nag, horse of inferior birth; *yl-hêl*, the horses (also in plural *ûl(u)şne*), the mares.
152. *ylli bytâwwyl yl-'ûm(u)r: âḥdak banât, rûkbak şâfnât, maşyak 'ûla tabât*. Variant: ... *'ala-n-nabât*. What prolongs the life is: to marry girls (virgins), to go on horseback, and to walk steadily. Variant: to walk on grass.
153. *mÿtl hêl yd-dôle mÿlḥa 'a-dêlha* (C). You are like government horses: wherever they go they have their food. Also reproach, that one so easily forgets his friends, with whom one has eaten "bread and salt."
154. *jâbu l-hêl ta-yihdûha, maddat il-fîrân ijrêha*. Also (*il-fâr ... ijro [ido ...]*). They brought the horses to be shod, and lo, the mice (or mouse) stretched out their feet (or foot) instead.
155. *lâ yîrkab yl-hêl ùlla kull man yi'adîha, lâ tîrkab yl-hêl ya flân là-ti'dîha*. Rhyme.

No one, but he who will treat horses as enemies, can ride them; O so-and-so, do not go horse-back, for fear you will make them feel unhappy, *i. e.*, you are not the right man for it.

156. *mhâjjal it-talâte u šurrâbto btÿsrab m'ô* (C). He has three white legs and a long forelock which drinks with him. Said of a good horse of noble breed.
157. *illi btôclo Sâmhâ bytrûdde, illi byôkle Fûndas (y)hsâra*. What the mare (called Sâmhâ) eats, she will return (in services rendered) but what is eaten by the donkey is lost.
158. *talâte kâ'bun yâ hêr, yâ šarr: yd-dâr w-yl-mara w-yl-fâras*. The cast of three is either "good" or "evil": the house, the woman, and the horse. It depends on mere good luck to have them according to one's own wishes.
159. *il-fâras yl-ašîle mâ byîbha jlâlha* (L). A mare of noble breed is not disgraced by her (bad) saddle-cloth. It is the personality and not the appearance that counts.
160. *îši 'add yd-dabbûr bûtrud il-hêl myn il-bûr? yr-ršâse*. Riddle: something as small as a hornet drives the horses back from the open field. The bullet.
161. *mâ kull min rikib il-hêl šâr fâris* (L). Not everyone who goes on horseback is a horseman.
162. *il-fâras min-il-fâris* (L). The mare is according to the horseman. Like master like man.
- 162a. *yl-hêl (y)kâb w-y'tâb*. Horses are a matter of good luck or bad luck.
163. *mît(y)lma nûdruj il-gurbân, nûdruj il-fâras ymn-il-fâris*. With the same ease with which we at once recognise a raven, we recognise a mare (or riding horse) from its rider (horseman).
164. *il-fâras butrûz hayyâlha w-il-mâra (y)rjâlha* (C). The mare tests her rider and the woman her husband (or "men" generally).
165. *illi mâlo 'êle yiqnâto (y)khêle*. He who has no family (*sc.* to care for), let him keep a noble horse.
166. *illi mâ byqdar 'al-hâmra u-'alîqha, iylûš myn tarîqha* (B 160). Rhyme. He who cannot master the brown mare, nor can provide her with fodder, let him shun her. Hands off, if you cannot master a task. Do not marry, if you cannot provide for a wife.



167. *yš-šā'er lau fih hēr ma tily' 'a-dnāb yl-hēl*. Rhyme. If there were any good in the hair, it would not grow on horses' tails. Excuse for cutting the hair.
168. *myn 'illt il-hēl šaddēna 'a-l-iklāb (y)srūj* (L). Owing to the small number of horses, we have saddled the dogs. Used to hint that an unworthy person has risen to dignity by mere chance. Cf. No. 470.
169. *byhūd'dyr il-mīdwad 'abl il-fāras* (B 234). One prepares the manger before (one owns) the mare. Overhasty, unnecessary precaution. Also as advice.
170. *ūntur ya gdiš ta -yītla' yl-hāšīš*. Variant: 'iš . . . (L) and Baḡdād. Wait, O horse, until the grass has grown. Variant: Live . . . You will have to wait very long, to obtain your wishes.
171. *rāh bēn ijren il-hēl* (L). It was trodden under foot by the horses. It is irrecoverably lost.
172. *bōh (y)lsān u bōl (y)hṣān*. Fatigue of the tongue and urine of the horse (are equally useless). "Words, words, words."
173. *il-hēl (y)btūnha kanz u dāh(y)rha 'yzz*. Colloquial form of *zuhūruhūnna 'yzzun wa-butūnuhūnna kanz(un)*. The mares' belly is a treasure, and their back is honour (power, strength). This is the corrupt form of the classical proverb: "their backs are honour, and their bellies are treasure." This is ascribed to the prophet Mohammed. It may be cited in documents dealing with the sale of noble horses.
174. *(y)lsānak (y)hṣānak: in šunto šānak w-yn hūnto hānak* or *w-yn hūnto hānak*. Your tongue is your horse. If you keep it in check, it will preserve you, and if you betray it, it will also betray you. Or: if you offend it, it will injure you.
175. *baṭrān mytl(y) l-yhṣān* (L). Like a pert horse. Of a wanton person.
176. *fālyt bāla rāsan* (L). Loose, without a halter. Of an unstable or cocky person.
177. *būd'do hāzzyt rāsan* (L). He wants his bridle shaken, to be reminded how to behave.
178. *zēyy il-hēl yd-dabbāke*. Like the horses in a treadmill, always on the same spot. Much ado and no advance.



179. *ḥašīše bašīše nayyāk l-ygdīše!* When blaming or mocking a fool, children will shout this at him and run away.
180. *ašyāl*, of noble breed; a man of good family. *rahwân*, trotter. The trotting pace is much liked, and horses of inferior breed are taught it. It stands for an active man (ironically). *gdīs*, nag, also a man without good manners (although rarely used).
181. *(y)kḥēle*, *(y)kbēše* or *čbēše*, *mḥalladīyye*, *ma'nagīyye*, *(y)bāyy*. These five horse families (called after the different mares) are considered the noblest breeds, and therefore are called *banāt mašhūr* (*āsl*), daughters of famous (pedigree). From these some thirteen other minor families have derived their origin. I give them according to ʿUmar eṣ-Ṣāleḥ el-Bargūṭi's article on "Horses": *jūlfā*, *šuēme*, *ṣaglāwīyye*, *jrēbe*, *hādḥa*, *ṭweše*, *nōfalīyye*, *ahlamīyye*, *(y)n'ēme*, *(y)n'ēj*, *gāzāle*, *umm 'arqāb*, *ḥamdānīyye*.
182. *ḥayyāl yz-zārqa*, *yl-ḥāmra*, *il-ḥādḥa*, etc., (L) the man who rides a gray or ash-coloured horse, a brown horse, or a fox-coloured horse.
183. *dānāb fāras*, plant: "horse-tail."
184. *fāris*, *ābu mūh(u)r*, nomina gentilia.  
*l-(y)hmār*, *yj-jāḥš* or *il-kūrr*. The ass, the ass-colt. These names are also used insultingly.
185. *īn y'milt (y)mkāri wāssi' bāb dārak* (Cf. No. 138). If you work as a muleteer (or hirer of asses) widen the door of your house, i. e., one has to live according to circumstances.
186. *bīllī l-yhmār 'an 'alīqo* (L) (B 231). He is able to divert the ass from his fodder (which is, by the way, not so difficult). Said of someone who hinders someone else from working, jokingly.
187. *(y)hmār (y)muālīf māla gāzāl (y)mḥālīf* (C). A willing donkey is better than an unwilling gazelle.
188. *(y)t-tykrār by'āllīm l-(y)hmār* (L). Repetition teaches even the ass.
189. *mōt il-ḥamār fāraj la-l-iklāb* (C). The death of the donkeys is a relief to the dogs (who had formerly to act as voluntary aids to the sanitary authorities, eating the carcasses thrown out of the city or village).

190. *zèy (y)hmâr it-tarrâse: il-hÿmyl (y)b-dâhro w-yn-nâht by-'â'ro* (C). Like the loaded donkey: the load is on his back, yet he is stung (or prodded). Complaint about too much work.
191. *bâ'(e)d 'ÿzzi u dalâli bayyatûni b-hân!* After my splendour and comfort (which I enjoyed) they let me pass the night in a *khân* (caravansary). Said of someone reduced in circumstances. Sic transit gloria mundi!
192. *ÿmsik l-yhmâr u hod bâjo* (C). (Just) hold the donkey (sc. for a while) and take your wage (lit. his). *bâj* is a Persian loan-word and means originally "immunity, toll."
193. *byt'âllam yl-bêtara fi hamâr in-nâwar* (B 230) (L). He practices farriery on the donkeys of the gypsies. The gypsies are not very eager to shoe their donkeys at the best farrier. The man is only a beginner (disdainfully).
194. *zèyy il-mîstri-r-râsan 'âbl l-yhmâr*. Like him, who bought the halter before the donkey.
195. *bâ'(e)d râsi la râs iy'îš u bâ'd yhmâri lâ nâbat hašîš*. Rhyme. After me let nobody live (do I care?) and after my ass (sc. has got enough to eat) let no grass grow! The standpoint of an egoist. Also: *Après moi le déluge!*
196. *šû bifâhhym il-hamâr bi-âkl yj-jynzbîl?* What do the donkeys understand about the eating of ginger? That's above your reach; you don't understand it.
197. *mâ bytlâqi -l-fûss il-hîziq illa 'ind ij-jâhš l-ymgâyyir* (B 116). Only the emaciated donkey suffers from flatulence. To a vain boaster.
198. *galîl il-'â'yl zèyy -lyhmâr* (L). Thick-headed like a donkey.
199. *zeyy hamâr yt-tahûne* (L) like the donkeys of the mill (working all day long, or, leaving the mill with the sacks on their backs and returning with the driver riding on them).
200. *zèyy l-yhmâr kîfma dîrto byndâr* (L). Like the donkey, he goes in whatever direction you turn him. Of an irresolute, undecided man.
201. *lau yîlbis l-yhmâr tiâb qâzz, bydâll l-yhmâr (y)hmâr*. If the donkey wore silken robes, the donkey would still be a donkey. This is the corruption of the following classical verse:

*wa-lâu lâbisa-l-ḥimâru tiâba qâzzyn,  
lamâ bâqiya -l-ḥimâru ylla ḥimâru.*

And if the donkey should wear silken robes,  
The donkey would still remain a donkey.

202. *îši mdaiûvar 'a-l-bîkâr: 'adase, ya tôr, yfham ya ḥmâr!*

Riddle: Something is circular, made by rule and compass, — it is a lentil, O ox, understand it O donkey.

It is trying to see how people fail to grasp it at once.

203. *sâkatnâlo, dâḥal biḥmâro.* We kept silent and lo, he entered with his donkey. Variant: *zâllagnâlo, dâḥal hu wyḥmâro.* We overlooked (his trespass), so he entered and with him his donkey. Variant: *fâtaḥnâlo, dâḥal byḥmâro.* We opened the door for him, so he and his donkey entered. Give him an inch and he will take an ell.

204. *nêk l-yḥmâra wâla nêk ij-jâra.* Obscene: sodomy is preferable to adultery.

205. *m'âssyr, u-faṣṣo ḥâmy u-buḍruṭ myn tîz wsi'a.* He is behind in his work (unable to carry it), and breaks much wind from a wide anus. Said of a boisterous man.

206. *âna amîr w-int amîr. u mîn sauwâ il -ḥamîr?* (B 187) (L). I am a prince and you are a prince (both of us are giving orders, commanding) and who is the donkey-driver? i. e., who shall do the work?

207. *âna kbîr w-inte kbîr u mîn byr'a l-ḥamîr?* I am grown up and you also, and who shall pasture the donkeys? Usually shepherds leave their job for another when they are out of their teens, sometimes even earlier. One must order and the other obey or work.

208. *zèyy il-ḥamîr ij-jî'ub, bîynha' uhû 'âla jâmbô.* Like the fallen(?) donkey he brays when the load is still on his back.

209. *l-yḥmâr l-âḥdar qâbylma yitla' myn baṭn imme uhû byû'ruj.* The lazy donkey begins to limp before he leaves his mother's womb. He'll never be good for anything. Also: One is clever from his earliest youth.

210. *mîyt(y)l nêk il-ḥamîr la lûzze wâla tî'me.* Obscene, said of something contrary to good taste.

211. *kibir l-yhmâr u zîgrit yl-bûrda'a*. The donkey has grown up and the packsaddle has become too small (for him). He is never contented with his position (ironically).
212. *raġâuet -l-yhzâm btûryt id-dûbar*. Looseness of the girth chafes the skin of the back. A firm rule is better than a weak one.
213. 'âl: *ya ħmâr, àhlak byndaġûlak*. 'âl: *ya 'a-ĥâtab, yâ 'a-mâyy*. One said: "O donkey, your people call you (are searching for you)." He answered: "It's either for wood or for water."
214. "*ĥyss(y) tûl fi Sṭambûl*." "*wûsl-yt-tâqq 'a-l- qawûš*." If the donkey is beaten on his back he thinks that all this is but "a sound of drums in Constantinople," as he seems not to be concerned with it. And if they beat him on his ears: "surely, the crack has been heard in the garrison," i. e., that's much more to the point. But this does not mean that animals are purposely maltreated, although we do not share the views of the S. P. C. A., especially in the villages, where the work is hard for both men and animals.
215. *zèyy l-yhmâr l-âĥdar: ma bynšîš ġêr bi-n-nâhyz*. Like the lazy donkey which does not go without being stung.
216. *zeyy-l-yhmâr l-âĥdar, btârafi l-mâkr myn bātyn immič*. You are like the lazy donkey; you know (how to use) trickery, since (you left) your mother's womb. Heard it from two quarreling peasant women, apparently influenced by Nr. 209.
217. *zèyy-ulâd yl-ĥamâr: mlâĥ w-ÿntu zġâr; w-ÿntu kbâr bytsîru ĥamâr*. Like the young of the donkey: pretty, when you are young, and donkeys when you are grown up. The bigger the more foolish.
218. *zeyy il-ĥamâr* (variant: *kûduš*) *auwâlhun la-l-'azâb w-aġrÿthun la-l-yklâb* (B 335). Like the donkeys (variant: nags, horses of inferior breed), at first they are miserable and in the end they are (thrown) to the dogs. Complaint about a miserable life. Cf. Nr. 189.
219. *fi kanûn il-ašûmm bušûġġ (byšûġġ) l-yhmâr 'êĥ u dâmm* (C). In the "deaf" January the donkey urinates puss and blood. He falls sick from the severe cold that reigns then. *ašûmm* is here inserted only for the rhyme, since this appellative properly



belongs to the month Rajab. Cf. J. P. O. S. II, p. 161, second line from above.

220. *'amro ma bysîr il-'adû habîb, illa ma-ysîr l-yĥmâr tabîb*. An enemy will never become a true friend until the donkey becomes a physician.
221. *ďartat yĥmârÿtna fî -stûb(y)l jârÿtna, sârat t'ulla: mârĥaba ya 'arâbÿtna!* Our she-donkey broke wind (when) in our neighbour's stable. She started to tell her: Welcome, our relative! Said to an unbearable fellow, who boasts of intimate acquaintance with people with whom he may be only on "bowing" terms.
222. *yt-ta'lim fî-l-kabîr (fî-l-yĥbîr) mîtl-yd-dûbb (ďûrb) fî-l-ĥamîr*. Teaching the grown-up is like beating the donkey: without effect. Cf. Nr. 214. It is too late to teach him at that age.
223. *mâtat l-yĥmâra w-yn'âṭat yz-zyâra*. The she-donkey died, and the paying of visits came to an end. As we have no more mutual interest, the friendship ceases. Or, come and pay us a visit, we still are friends.
224. *zèyy 'ajûz yn-nûwar: 'aṭî by-z-zâd u tî'le 'a-d-dawâb (C)*. Like an old gipsy woman: shortage of food and a burden to the pack-animals. About a useless fellow. Variant: ... *qatî by-l-fâtt u tûqle 'a-l-ĥamîr*. ... curtailing the bread and being a burden to the pack-donkeys.
225. *îši twîl ytwîl ma butîl byzz l-ĥmâra? yt-tarîq, id-dûrb*. Riddle: There is something very, very long, yet it does not touch (even) the udder of the she-ass: the road.
226. *kull myn bysû' yĥmârto by-bšârto*. Every one drives his she-ass according to his fancy. Chacun à son goût. Cf. B. 495.
227. *'ôl(e)t ĥâ bytsû' kull yl-ĥamîr*. Variant: ... *ĥâ ... l(y) bġâl*. The word *ĥâ* drives all donkeys alike. Variant: *ĥâ ... mules*. They are all alike. Cf. 114: everything has its clue or key.
228. *zybb (zubb) yĥmâr biddo 'andîl?* Slang. Does the penis of an ass need a candle? Does such an evident thing need any more explanation?
229. *šâf šû by'ûl (bu'ûl) aĥâk!* See what your brother has to say! A joking remark (also as question) when hearing a donkey's



bray. The following I have heard in Artâs as an explanation of the bray of two donkey's: — A: *ahî, mâtyñ yn-natâya çyÛhin, mâtyñ, mâtyñ!* (Alas, all females have died, have died!) — B: *fÿdlyt wâhde, fÿdlyt wâhde!* (There is one still living) — A: *hâtha, hâtha!* (Bring her hither!)

230. *zèyy hamîr it-tahûne* or *yt-tarrâse*. Like mill donkeys. Cf. 199.

231. *hàyyi-d-dâr 'âbyl l-yhmâr!* Have the house ready before (you buy) the donkey. Treat things in the order of their importance. Vide Nr. 194.

232. *hâda hmârak yÛlli fâr'ito!* This is the very donkey from which you parted (B 89). He has not changed for the better. It seems to be a moral of a story, but so far I have not been able to trace it.

233. *mâ btyhfa hmâra u bynthâ fi-l-hâra* (B 520). A she-ass is not hidden when her filly is in the street (the young of the domestic animals are much attached to their mothers). Said of something apparently difficult, which has a most easy solution.

234. *lôma rakkâbtak 'âla hmâry, mâ -'rîft sÛ fi-lûrji* (B 516). You would not have known what I have in my saddle-bag, if I had not let you ride my donkey. It was my mistake to have done you a good turn. To a person who proves ungrateful and misuses his benefactor's confidence.

235. *mâ- 'dÿrt 'a-l-yhmâr 'addêt yl- bârda'a*. You could not gain the mastery of the donkey, so you bit the packsaddle. Variant: *illî mâ by'dar 'a-l-yhmâr bu'ûdd il-bârda'a*.

236. *il-fâss il-hÿzy' myn-l-yhmâr l-ymgâyyir* (B 116). Cf. 197, of which this is a variant.

237. *râbbna ma buhÿtt yl-'âmbara gër 'a-l-hamîr l-ymdâbbara* (B 121). Our Lord gives vainglory only to those donkeys who have their skin chafed off their back (who ought at first to be mindful of their bad situation). Cf. 897.

238. *hêl buðurbu jhâš* (C). Horses kick donkeys. Also the inversion of this in the form of a question: *ahû jhâš buðurbu hêl?* (C). Which means that donkeys are never the equals of well-bred horses. Metaphorically used.

239. *mât ya hmâr ta-yîjîk il-'alî!* Cf. 170. Die, O donkey, till you get the fodder!
240. *zèyy illi râkîb 'a-l-yhmâr bu'ûl niyyâlkum yûlly 'a-l-waṭâh!* Like him, who, riding a donkey, envies the pedestrians. Sometimes the donkey is stubborn and the rider has much difficulty in making him go properly.
241. *'âzamu (y)hmâr 'a-fârah. 'âl: yâ 'a-hûṭab, yâ 'a-mâyy.* They invited the donkey to the wedding. He said: (I know full well the reason) it's surely for carrying either wood or water. Cf. 213.
242. *lâ tâḥud (tôḥod) yhmâra u-ymma ji-l-hâra.* Don't take (or buy) a she-ass when her mother is in the same quarter, (for she will run every now and then to her). Advice given to live without the husband's mother-in-law.
243. *ta-yîṭla' l-yhmâr 'a-l-mêdane* (B 283). (A certain thing will happen or will be allowed or given) when the donkey has climbed up the minaret, i. e. never, impossible.
244. Bêt Jâla variant to above: *ta yîṭla' l-yhmâr 'al qâšš* (straw-stack).
245. *ûrbuṭ ij-jâḥš mâtrah* (variant: *zeyy*) *ma bu'ûllak šâḥbo* (B 10) (L). Tether the donkey (exactly) in the place (variant: in the manner) which his owner bids you. Do what you are told, without question.
246. *yjhâš bṭûdrub ḥêl* (C). Cf. 238. The mean is able to hurt the noble, a bare statement.
247. *ûrbuṭ l-yhmâr 'înd -lygdîš: yâ by'ûllmo -š-šahîq yâ bî'ûllmo-nahîq.* Tie the donkey near the nag; (and see how) he will teach him either the more or the less uproarious braying. I Corinth. 15 33: Evil communications corrupt good manners.
248. *ṭawîl 'arîḍ mîtl ḥamâr yl -'abârša.* (He is) tall and broad (-shouldered) like Cypriote donkeys. Said of someone, whose gifts are not equal to his stature. Cyprus supplies the country with a sort of white donkeys, which are of a better sort than the usual ones. They may cost up to double the ordinary donkey, and are appreciated as riding animals generally.
249. *zèyy yhmâr il-hîḥâm, 'â'il, šîṭân.* He is like the donkey of the rabbi, well behaved (on the one hand), wicked, troublesome (on the other).

250. *l-yhmâr (y)hmâr walâu şâr 'âdî blâd*. A donkey (fool) will be always the same, even if he (be appointed to) the post of a kadi. Variant: *il-walad ...* (a boy).
251. *zèyy hmâr yl-hîhâm: myn nûş hîş buwà"if*. Variant: *in 'ultillo hîş ...* Like the donkey of the rabbi, which will stop before you tell him to. Variant: if you bid him stop ... Said of a timid, anxious, nervous, person.
252. *natî l-yhmâr 'as-sâh(y)l, qâlle wâssy' qâl: mâ myn 'ên ba'id 'ênak*. The donkey jumped on the kid saying: "Make place!" He said: "I never saw anyone more insolent."
253. *naşîbak illi şâb l-yhmâr iysîbak*. Your luck—may that which befell the donkey, befall you too! A jocose phrase. Cf. 218.
254. *âkl u mâr'a u 'ill(e)t şân'a zèyy l-yhmâr il-ğarrâr*. To have plenty of fodder and grazing and no work to do like the heedless (young, inexperienced) donkey. To a lazy man, leading an idle life.
255. *il-bêt ðâyî' u-il-yhmâr raffâş* (B 45). Variant: *hân ... labbât*. The house is cramped and the donkey lashes out. Two calamities instead of one. Variant *hân*, caravansary, which seems to be original, although animals live still in the same room with the peasant, but separated from him. Cf. the following.
256. *l-yhmâr fi qâ' yl-bêt w-il-'âlaf 'a-l-mÿştabe, lâ l-yhmâr tâile, wâla-l-'âlaf jâile*. The donkey is in the corner of the house, and the fodder is on the stone-bench; neither the donkey can reach it, nor does the fodder come to him. Criticism on some unfeasable thing. Also: the lazy man never gets what he wants unless he works for it.
257. *küll şî byşbah 'ânih, hÿtta l-yhmâr w-illi şarih* (B 483). Everything resembles its acquirer (possessor), even the donkey and its purchaser. Like master like man.
258. *zèyy illi bysâlly l-yhmâr bi-şûr battîlÿ* (B 343). Like him who entertains the donkey with melon peels. To put someone off, to keep him in suspense.
259. *zèyy-l-ymdâyî' jâhş(e)t hâlto* (variant: *jâmal hâlto*;) *yn laqâha mġânny wîn ma laqâha mġanny* (B 344). Like him who has lost his aunt's she-ass (variant: camel) he keeps on singing

whether he has found it or not. He is not very much affected by the loss.

260. *mît(y)l fâṣṣ il -kùrr lâ bînfâ' wâla buḏùrr (byḏùrr)* (Slang). Like the furt of a young donkey, it neither profits nor injures anybody. Of indifferent things.
261. *bynîk ijlhâš: la byhâllyl wâla byhârrym* (Slang). He neither allows nor disallows it from the religious viewpoint.
262. *âbu-j-jahšât. flân lyssâto bynîk yjlhâš*. An expression among the Bedouin meaning that someone still leads a bachelor's life.
263. *yḏ-ḏârb la-l-yhmâr* (L). Beating is (good) for the donkey.
264. *wên flân? rîkbo wâhad râh yîs'îh*. A. "Where is so-and-so?" B. "Someone rode him to water." Disrespectful remark about someone absent, who is not much gifted.
265. *wên rây(e)h fîh?* Answer: 'a-l-ên. Where do you take him? Answer: To the watering-place at the spring. Humorous question to one of two going together.
266. *(y)hmâr il-ên u-'atsân!?* (L). Can the donkey of the spring be thirsty!? Of or to someone, who, although in charge of a supply, or although having something, yet does not take advantage of it in due course. Humorous only.
267. *bîrfuṣ u-bu'ûḏḏ (byûrfuṣ u-by'ûḏḏ)*. (You cannot approach him for) he kicks and bites. Of a disagreeable fellow. When donkeys fight they kick and bite each other, sometimes in a most ludicrous and clumsy manner.
268. The donkeys of the Sîb Bedouin tribe are known as a good kind, capable of endurance.
269. *hmâr 'ûburṣi* (L). Cyprus Donkey. These animals are bigger than the usual race found in the country. They are mostly white and strong. They seem also to be cleverer than others. Cf. 248.
270. *kurr, kurryš, jalhâše*, little ass-colt, diminutive of *kurr, jalhš*. Mock names for fools or stupid youngsters.
271. *jâhš*, small donkey; *jahš 'îre*, a man who is supposed to fill the gap; *jâhš ys-sâle*, trestle; *ymjâhâše* or *jâhšane* scuffle, tussle, scrimmage or romp.



272. *allah mäsaho* (*hàlaqo* L.) *hmâr*. God created (lit. metamorphosed) him (into) a donkey. Applied to an imbecile person.
273. *nâšo hÿls* or *bârda'a*. He wants a horse-blanket or a pack-saddle. *lâbys sûrj*. He wears a saddle. Both phrases are used of unintelligent people (irreverently used).
274. *dabbÿtkun btÿ'rab dabbÿtna myn jÿht-yr-rdâ'a*. Your she-ass is related to ours by virtue of having sucked milk together. To denote a very improbable grade of relationship. Also to show the absurdity of a comparison. .
275. *ibn yhmârÿtna*. The son of our 'she-ass. Showing one's contempt for the acquaintance of some indifferent person.
276. *kull il-hamâr ybtÿntÿhyz gër ìnt ya mâl yz-zâfar!* (also *btÿnthi!*) All the donkeys get excited (or are encouraged) except you, O filthy one. Variant *yjâuwazat* (Arîâs), have married, to encourage a bachelor to marriage.
277. *ymdândyl dinêh* (L). He has let his ears hang down, discouraged or ashamed.
278. *jâhš, yjhêš, jahšân, jahšât, abu hmâr, abu hammûr, abu hmâyÿir, hamârne, qâtša*, all nomina gentilia.
279. *yhmâyÿir*, nomen pers. masc.
280. Pono penem asini in vaginam matris tuae sive sororis sive uxoris tuae. Pono penem asini in anum tuum (obscene vituperation).  
*l-yhšeny*, the fox; *yt-tà'lab*, the fox; *il-wâwi*, the jackal; *iş-şwâyy*, the young fox or jackal.
281. *allah iy'imal: myn dàhr mayyâl, šâr il-yhšeny fi-s-sâhyl hayyâl!* May God straighten you, O unfair time, in which the fox has become a rider in the plain! Complaint of the adverse time. Variant: *allah iydÿrrak*, May God hurt you . . .
282. *kùll yhšeni fi blâdo dîb*. In his own country every fox is a wolf.
283. *yhšeni nâk yhšeniyye 'ûla nâtše, qállha: "ÿrja'y!" qâlâtlo: "'ûla frâšak il-lâyÿin?"* Obscene. This time you shall not get the better of me
284. *darâbha âbu-l-yhšeniyyât u 'âššarat!* Slang. C'est un fait accompli!



285. 'âl: "wâwi bâla' mânjal." 'âl: "ind harâh ybtÿsma' y'wâh" (B 478). He said: "A fox has swallowed a sickle." He answered: "You will hear his barking when he evacuates" (Slang). This is the consequence! Variant: *kûlb ḥaddâd* . . . The blacksmith's dog . . .
286. *myn 'ûsur dëlak yâ-z'ar!* (B 462). It's owing to the shortness of your tail (that you cannot obtain the thing wanted) O dwarf! Said to someone who pretends to detest something for which he has made vain efforts. Another explanation is given in my article: "Animal Tales and Fables," where the original story is given.
287. *lawîl 'ûla snânak* or *b'îd 'ân ysnânak!* (L). This is too high for your teeth or too far from them (probably derived from the story of the fox and the grapes, which is well known).
288. *makkâr zèyy il-wâwi* (L). Crafty as a fox (jackal). Cf. Luke 13 32.
289. *tâ'albe*, tribe.
290. *ḥsêny, âbu-l-yḥsên, yḥsênât, swâyiy*, nomina gentilia.
291. *ḥysy-t-tâ'lab*, *Salvia Armeniaca* or *Hierosolymitana*.
- il-harûf*, the sheep; *in-nâ'je*, the ewe; *kûbš*, ram; *tÿly* lamb; *il-bayâd*, *il-gânam*, *ys-sâht*, sheep (the last word also "goats").
292. *yâ ma kûll harûf fât ûmmo 'al-mâslah!* How often has not a sheep been slaughtered before his mother! Death does not come according to age. There is no sufficient protection against unforeseen accidents.
293. *illi byôhod il-harûf byîhmi ûmmo*. He who takes the sheep has to protect its mother too. One thing follows from the other.
294. *sûfak u harûfak mâli 'ên ytsûfak!* (B 384). (Go away with) your wool and your sheep. I cannot see you! Said to an insupportable fellow, who offers his services. Usually only the first two words are said.
295. *gânam bâla râ'i, lâ 'atab illa 'a-n-nâzar*. Sheep without a shepherd, one must blame the eyesight, i. e. oneself.
296. *il-bÿnt kûllma nabâtÿlha qârn iksîrylha âlf!* Whenever the girl (wife) has a horn growing,—break a thousand (of her) horns. Advice to keep women always in check and not to let them get the upper hand.

297. *şûfto hāmra* (L) (B 603). His wool is red (sc. painted). He is in ill repute; he has a bad name; he is in a person's bad books, so all his efforts to better his name are vain.
298. *nāşyl ym'ākkyk mētl yl-harūf*. Fleshy and fat like the sheep. Said of a person of healthy appearance.
299. *yn-nā'je nāttat, qālat yl-'ānze: "Ahhū!" qalātylha! "ynty tūl hayātik ymkūšše, āna bayyānt sibbt y mārra."* The ewe jumped and the she-goat exclaimed: "Aha!" The ewe told her: "All your life long you are exposed, while I have shown my disgrace only once!"
300. *qāl: "hamētlak nā'yjak ymn-yd-dīb" qāl: "wēnha?" qāl: "akāl(i)tha: "qāl; int w-id-dīb mētyl bā'd"* (B 447). A: "I have protected your ewe from the wolf." B: "Where is she?" A: "I have eaten her up." B: "You and the wolf are just alike."
301. *būrij il-hāmal*. Aries, zodiacal sign.
302. *harūf, gānmaty, ygnēm, gannām*, nomina pers. masc.
303. *nā'je*, nom. pers. fem. — *hādi zēyy in-nā'je* (L), quiet as an ewe.
304. *harūf, 'abūr, harūfe, hurufān, nā'je, abu n'āj, tily, ma'ā, malūf, gnēmāt, abu gnām, abu gannām, jādā'*, nomina gentilia.
305. *abu lyye, abu dūbe, mrē'i*, nomina ridicula.
306. *ā'ma zēyy-l-yhlūd*, blind as a mole.
307. *mētl-ly-hlūd, rās bāla ynēn*. Like the mole, (having) a head and no eyes.
- hanzīr, hanzīr bārry, hannūs*, pig, boar, farrow.
308. *šā'ra myn dānbat yl-hanzīr māksab* (B 365). A single hair from the pig's tail is already a bargain.
309. *šā'ra myn tiz il-hanzīr bārake*. A single hair from the pig's arse is a blessing (slang). Cf. the Yiddish: "Git is vun a chazer a hur."
310. *rašš ma bīrmy hanazīr*. A lead bullet does not kill boars.
311. *māra' 'anny mā sállam mētl (kīnno) hanzīr ymbállam* (B 564). He passed by me and did not salute me, like (as if he were) a muzzled pig.

312. *wîih zâyî il-ḥanzîr*, as insolent as a pig.  
 313. *âusah myn yl-ḥanzîr* (L), dirtier than a pig.  
 314. *mÿtl il-ḥanzîr il-bârri* (L), like a wild boar.  
 315. *ḥamîs, ḥannûs, ḥânzîr mḥânzîr*, nomina ridicula; *ylhêzre*, locus.  
 316. *nâb il-ḥanzîr il-bârri*, the tusk of a boar, amulet.

*yd-dûbb*, the bear.

317. 'âl: "šû šûjl yd-dûbb?" 'âl: "ḥarîr iykûbb" (B 448). He said: "What is the bear's business?" He answered: "To wind up silk into a ball." Of a clumsy, fumbling fellow.  
 318. *âty-d-dûbb ḥarîr iykûbb* (L). Give the bear silk to wind.  
 319. *kûll id-dûbb (id-dûbab) rûṣaṭ gêr (ÿlla) dûbb il-mâzra'a* (L). All bears have already danced, except that of Mazra'a. Of a man who keeps aloof when present at a general celebration.  
 320. 'âm yd-dûbb ta-yûrûs, 'âtal sitt, sâbi' (sâby', tâmant-) ûnfus (L). The bear rose up to dance and killed (sc. by his awkward movements) six, seven (variant: seven, eight) persons.  
 321. *zâyî id-dûbb mâ byji illa bynnâhyz*. Like the bear, who does not move unless he is stung. Of a heavy, lazy person.  
 322. *lûbyt id-dûbb u-ys-sâdân*. The game between the monkey and the bear. Societas leonina, unequal partnership.  
     a) *bydâllu dûbb u 'îrd* (L). They will remain a bear and a monkey. Like cat and dog.  
     b) *zâyî id-dûbb u-is-sâdân*. Like the bear and the monkey, quarrelsome, irreconcilable, unsociable.  
     *id-dûb, id-dûbe*, the wolf, the she-wolf.  
 323. *ûzkur id-dûb u hayyûlo-l-'aḏîb!* (B 9) (L). Just mention the wolf and prepare the stick for him (sc., in order to drive him away)! Lupus in fabula.  
 324. *ÿlak willa la-d-dûb? fûṣar id-dûb!* "(Shall it belong) to you or to the wolf?" "Let the wolf boast in vain." To encourage someone to take active part in a case.  
 325. *kûll il-uhûṣ byt'auwy w-is-sâm'a la-d-dûb*. All the beasts howl but only the wolf is reputed to.

326. *dīb, diāb, dibān*, nomina pers. masc.; *dībe*, nomen pers. fem.; *dīb, dībe, diāb* nomina gentilia.

327. *dībe*, vertebra from the neck of the wolf, used as an amulet against coughing.

*ys-sāby'* beast, lion (cf. also Nos. 1—14).

328. *sab' il-lēl*, the lion of the night (the dog).

329. *nām fi dyll is-sāby' wa-lau-inno yāklak!* Sleep in the shadow of a lion although he will devour you.

330. *kālb dāyir wāla sāby' marbūt*. Rather a dog free to roam than a chained lion.

331. *kalb ṭāyyib wāla sāby' māyyit*. A living dog is better than a dead lion.

332. *yl-wāḥš*, nomen gentile.

*ys-sa'dān*, the monkey. Cf. also Nos. 378—393.

333. *wiššo aḥmar zeyy ṭiz ys-sa'dān*. His face is as red as a monkey's arse.

334. *ys-sa'ādneh*, small tribe in Transjordan.

335. *ymsa'dan*, a capricious, devilish person, jokingly used.

336. *ed-ḏaby'*, the hyena.

337. *zāyy illi tāqī'lo -ḏ-ḏaby'*. Like him, who has been "fooled" by hyena.

338. *il-maḏbū'*, the person "paralysed" by a hyena.

339. *yḏbū'a*, nomen gentile; *ḏāb'a*, nomen loci.

*yl-ḡazāl*, the gazelle, the doe.

340. *ya bādln ḡuzlānkum by-rūd!* Exclamation: You have (sc. done wrong) to exchange your gazelles for monkeys.

341. *'ālu la-l-ḡazāle: "irḥālī!" šōṣaḥat danābha (danbātha)* (B 457). They bade the gazelle, "Depart from here!" She waggled her tail (consenting to it, as she has no luggage). I carry everything on my back.

342. *ḥatta iysîr myn şûf il-ġazâl 'aba* or *'abâ!* (B 283). Until a mantle (overcoat) is made from the wool of the gazelle. Ad calendas graecas, when two Sundays fall together, never.
343. *il-ġazâle*: the female gazelle, the sun.
344. *'ên il-ġazâl, quṭṭên ġazâl, y'rûn ġazâl*, plants.
345. *şynn ġazâl*, is the first tooth after the milk teeth.
346. *'ên il-ġazâl, i'yûno miṭl i'yûn il-ġazâl*. Gazelle eyes. He has eyes like those of the gazelle. *'âfz il-ġazâl*, the jumping of the gazelle (the ideal of dexterity). *hû bîrkuṭ (byûrkuṭ) miṭl il-ġazâl*. He runs as swiftly as a gazelle.
347. *tê wâw rê, ya ġazâl*. These are the names of the three consonants which form the word *tôr*, "ox." Ironically: How clever you are! O gazelle!
348. *dêr ġazâle, 'ên ġazâl*, nomina loci.
349. *ġazâl*, nomen pers. masc.; *ġazâle*, n. pers. fem.; *ġazâl, ġazâli, ġazâle, âbu ġazâle*, nomina gentilia.
- yl-ġûl*, the ghou, fabulous monster, also nomen gentile.
350. *yl-bû'bu' by-l-fârşe u-yd-dâḥ by-s-sandû'*. The boggy-monster is in the bed and the toy is in the box.
351. *'ind il-ġûl 'ûrs, yâlla il-ġûl yîşba'* (var.: *tâkul tîşby bătynha*). There is a wedding-dinner at the ghou's house, but the ghou himself will scarcely be satisfied. Variant: . . . But the ghou herself would scarcely find enough to eat to fill her stomach.
352. *yl-ġûl âkal kùll yd-dînya ma 'âda mârato*. The *ġûl* has eaten up the whole world (all people) except his wife.
353. *maḥâbt-yl-ġûl lâbno yn jâ byî'rut wîdno!* The love of the ghou for his son is that when he (the father) is hungry, he will nibble his (son's) ear.
354. *şôfto* (better *şôfîtha*) *zèyy şôft yl-ġûl* (L). He (she) looks as untidy as a ghou.
355. *ḥiyal in-nyswân ġalâbu ḥiyal il-ġilân!* Woman's tricks have overcome (or beaten) those of the ghou!



356. 'alê kârš mîtyl kârš yl-gûl: byâkul ma byîšba'. He has the stomach of a ghou! he eats but is never satisfied. *ymgâuwil*, or *mîtl il-gûl*: byâhud kûll šî ilo (L). He is (sc. egoistic) like a ghou!, he takes everything for himself.

*il-fâr*, the mouse; *ij-jÿrse*, the big mouse; *ij-jardôn*, the rat.

357. *fâr wÿ'i' by-t-thÿn, tâhamu kûll il-fîrân*. A single mouse fell into the flour and they suspected all mice!

358. *zâyÿ il-fâra ybtÿji gÿr bâb dârha*. Like the mouse who goes to other house-doors.

359. *ây hû râkyb il-fâr 'îli?* (B 600). Is the one who rides a mouse exalted?

360. *byhsib hâlo in rikib fâra 'îli* (B 233). He thinks himself exalted when riding on a mouse. A little success is enough to make him conceited.

361. *zâyÿ il-fâra akkâle nakkâra*. Like the mouse, she eats much and always denies.

362. *fâra mâ wysÿha hÿzu'ha dâssu warâha myrzâbbe*. A mouse whose hole scarcely held her had an iron bar thrust in after her.

363. *jâbu -l-hêl ta-yihdûha âja l-fâr madd dânbato* or *ido*. They brought the horses to be shod; there came the mouse and stretched out his tail (or hand). "To shoe a goose or a gosling." Var.: ... *maddat il-fîrân ijrêha*. The mice stretched out their legs.

364. *'addo (il-âdd) 'add il-fâra hÿsso (il-hÿss) ymmâlly-l-hâra* (B 459). His stature is that of a mouse but his voice (nevertheless) fills the whole quarter. Of a noisy youngster.

365. *flân bÿl'ab il-fâr fi bêto*. The mice are playing in X's house (of a poor man).

366. *bÿju fîrân u byrâhu tîrân* (B 265). They come like mice and go like oxen. Of poor people who become rich quickly.

367. *bêt il-fâra ymgâra*. Their house of the mouse is a cave (big enough to contain everything).

368. *lūbyṭ il-bḡss w-il-fār*. The play of cat and mouse.  
*zēyy il-bḡss w-il-fār*. Like cat and mouse.
369. *ysnāno mitl isnān yl-fār*. His teeth are as (sharp as) those of the mouse.
370. *ysnān yz-zḡār by'armyṭha -l-fār*. The mouse nibbles the teeth of the youngsters. Also in question form to a youngster (jokingly).
371. *bāly' fāra*, having swallowed a mouse; *bāly' jardōn*, . . . a rat, (L) is said jesting of or to someone whose voice has become hoarse from a chill or cold draught during winter.
372. *zāyy jardōn yl-hāra*. Like the rat (coming out) of the W. C.
373. *zāy jaradīn yl-ḥammāra: 'ūmy u sakāra*. Like the rats of a public house: blind and inebriated.
374. *dāmno aḥāff' myn dāmm il-jaradīn*. His blood is lighter than that of rats. Said of an unbearable, bothersome person.
375. *fāra* = carpenter's plane.
376. *fār, ābu jrēs, jardōn, yjredīni*, nomina gentilia.
377. *fāra, 'ēn fār, bēt fār*, place-names.

*il-'ird*, *ys-sa'dān*, the ape, the monkey. Cf. also Nos. 333/5.

378. *ya māḥd yl-'ird 'āla mālo: bḡfna l-māl u bḡb'a l-'ird 'āla ḥālo*. O you, who have married the ape for his money, the money will vanish, and the ape will remain as he was. Warning against marriages for money.
379. *wiššo mitl dihn il-'ird: la bi'āff'yr wāla byḏāwwi*. His face (countenance) is like the fat of the ape: it neither serves as a condiment nor for lighting.
380. *wiššo myṭl wišš il-'ird (L)*. His face is like that of the ape (ugly).
381. *yṭṭālla' il-'ird bi-l-ymrāye šāf ḥālo ḡazāl (L)*. The ape threw a glance at the mirror and conceived himself a gazelle. Ugliness and prettiness.
382. *il-'ird fi 'ēn ymmo (ūmmo) ḡazāl*. To his mother the ape is a gazelle. Lit.: The ape is in the eye of his mother a gazelle.

383. *wên kùnti ya 'irde làmma kunt àna wârde?* Where were you O (she)-ape, when I was a rose? asks the older of two woman when they are arguing about their beauty.
384. *ṣabâḥ l-y'rûd wâla ṣabâḥ il-âjrûd* (B 378). Better the morning salute of the devil (ape) than that of a man without a beard.
385. *'ird bysallik wâla ġazâl bîmu'tak.* (Better to have) an ape who amuses you than a gazelle who hates you. Cf. No. 187.
386. *ṣîfi* or *fîdi* or *fâḍi-l-'ird la-mâṭ ij-jîld* (B 421). Now the ape is at leisure to pluck hairs from the skin. He has now ample time to tease others.
387. *il-'ird 'âid 'a-ṣ-ṣândal* (B 120). The ape is sitting on the skiff.
388. *hâ-l-'ird byddo h-âj-janzÿr.* This ape needs such a chain.
389. *'ird u 'irdên u talâte* (L). A thin congregation, contemptuously or jokingly used (lit., one ape, two apes, three apes). Also: *Tres faciunt collegium.*
390. *'ird* (or *'irdên*) *u hâris u ḥammâl makânys.* One ape (or: two apes) and a watchman and a scavenger. Said to denote a small number of people, contemptuously or jokingly.
391. *'ird yištâlak! (yâ-l-âb'ad!)* May an ape carry you away!
392. *lû'byt il-ÿrd il-marbût.* Play of a fettered ape: child's play.
393. *yâ 'ird!* Contraction of 391 or profane exclamation: "the devil," etc. *ma'rûd*, bewitched.

*il-'utt*, *il-byss*, the cat; *il-'utt il-bârri*, the wild-cat.

394. *ḥatÿt-il-'utt ma bytnùtt* (B 301). The sin (committed) against a cat does not jump (but rests on the culprit to avenge the maltreated animal).
395. *ṣakârna (ḥamâdna) l-'utt, ḥîri by-t-ḥîn, (by-l-ḥâbie, by-l-bâtie)* (B 366) (L). We spoke well of the cat, so he eased himself in the flour, (in the big wooden platter, or in the big earthen jar). Said of somebody who cannot be praised without his becoming conceited or his doing something wrong.
396. *ḥy'ta' râs il-byss fi yôm (or lèlt) yl-'ûrs.* Cut off the cat's head in the nuptial night, one may add: *kân myn y'bêle ya hbêle!*

(B 473). You ought to have done it before (sc., something happened).

397. *yn-nâs by-n-nfâs u-il-'ûtta hâmlê halâs*. People are sighing for help and the cat brings it.
398. *zây-y-ly'tât ybtî'ra 'âla gêr 'ylm*. Like cats, which make things up without previous knowledge.
399. *mÿtl il-'ûtta akkâl nakkâr* (Cf. 361). Like the cat, who eats and denies (that he has eaten). Variant: *mÿtl l-y'tât ybtâkul u btûnkur*. Like cats, which eat and deny it.
400. *zây-y il-'ûtta, byâkul u bylhas tûmmo*. Like the cat, he eats and licks his mouth.
401. *bâlhas msânny u banâm mythànny* (B 260). I'll lick my whetstone (hone) and sleep satisfied.
402. *zây-y illi bywâkhil yl-'ûtta 'a-j-jîbne (jîbin)*. Like him who puts the cat in charge of the cheese.
403. *'ûtta mâ bybî' jîbne*. A cat does not sell cheese.
404. *zây-y il-by'ss, kifma ramêto byji wâ'if*. Like the cat, you may throw him as you like and he'll fall on his feet.
405. *yl-'ûtta ilha sâb yrûwah* (L). The cat has seven souls (common belief). Cf. the English idea that the cat has nine lives.
406. *bûzyn yl-'ûtta yb-dânabo*. He weighs the cat with its tail. Of a too scrupulous person.
407. *zakârna l-'ûtta âja (jâna)ignûtta*. We mentioned the cat and he came (to us) leaping (instantly). Lupus in fabula.
408. *âhsan ma t'ûl la-l-'ûtta: "by'ss"! hÿ'ta' yjyrha*. Better than to say to the cat, "by'ss!"—cut off her leg.
409. *'ynên mîtil 'inên yl-by'ss* (L). Eyes like those of the cat.
410. *yl-'ûtta jâ'at u âklat ulâdha*. The cat was hungry and ate up her kittens. Also: *yl-'ûtta yn jâ'at âklat ulâdha*. If the cat gets hungry she will devour her kittens. The classical *a'âqqu mÿn-al-hÿrra(ti)* ascribes this to the great love and pity which the cat has towards her kittens.
411. *bÿhra u bÿdfin mîtl il-by'ss* (B 557) (L). He evacuates and buries (the foeci), just like a cat. Of a secretive man, who

does not like to make himself known. Also to describe the highest degree of fear. Cf. No. 400.

412. (*yn*) *râh' il-bÿss il'ab yâ fâr!* (B 416) (L). (If) the cat has gone, (you may) play, O mouse! Variant: *gâb il-'ütt israh (ÿmrah) yâ fâr!* The cat is absent, (now) attend to your business freely (cheer up), O mouse!
413. *zâyy il-'ütt w-il-kâlb* (L). Like cat and dog, quarrelsome.
414. *ÿn ynzârr il-'ütt bûhjum 'a-l-kâlb*. If the cat is bitten (pressed), he attacks the dog.
415. *zâyy il-bÿss w-il-fâr* (L). Cf. 368.
416. *mitl il-'ütta bytkâlhyl 'inêha bylâlÿs tÿzha*. Like the cat, she paints her eyes with what she has licked from her arse.
417. *tÿlÿas bâ'dak il-bâ'd! ya-l âb'ad*. May you lick yourself!
418. *illi bylâ'ib il-'ütt bûshur 'âla hâramîšo (maḥamîšo)* (L). He who plays with the cat must stand his scratching.
419. *wÿ'y' il-fâr myn is-sâ'if, 'allo l-'ütt: "Allah."* *jâwabo l-fâr: "ÿn yslymt minnak, hêr myn Allah!"* The mouse fell from the ceiling, and the cat said: "God!" The mouse answered him: "If I am saved from you, it is by God's grace."
420. *wÿ'y' yl-'asfâr 'an ys-sâjara, 'allo l-'ütt: "Allah!" 'allo: "âslam mynnak, âlf hêr myn Allah!"* The bird fell from the tree and the cat said: "God!" It the (bird) answered: "If I be saved from you it is as a thousand graces of God."
421. *yl-'ütta btôkol (btâkul) 'asâh*. The cat will eat his dinner. Of a weak, unenergetic person.
422. *hâdi âhyrt yt-târÿs, yâ 'ütt yl-manyûk!* This is the consequence of your behaviour.
423. *šawârib il-qütt, dân il-qütt, bêd yl-qütt, ÿr yl-bÿss, hannûn byss*, names of plants.
424. *yl-hâjje 'ütta*, nomen pers. fem. *bÿss, bÿsse, bsês, bsêso, âbu l-bÿss, yl-'ütt, yl-y'tâti, y'têt*, nomina gentilia.
- il-kâlb*, the dog; *ij-jâru*, the whelp.
424. *il-kâlb kâlb, walâu tâuwa'ûh biddâhab* (B 123) (L). This is presumably derived from the classical *al-kâlb* *kâlbun walâu*



*tauwâqtahu dâhaban*, which is the second hemistich of a well-known verse. The dog (remains) a dog even if they (class. you) have put a golden chain around his neck. Contrast: *kelb el-emîr emîr*. An emîr's dog is also an emîr.

426. *il-kâlb wâlau bytsammno mâ byttâkal*. Even if you fatten the dog you cannot eat his flesh.
427. *mîš küllma bysammyn il-kâlb byttâkal lâhmo*. Not everything (sc. animal) which makes the dog fat is eatable.
428. *wemma râh ys-sêl jâraf u wemma râh il-kâlb hâraf* (B 612). Wherever the torrent goes, it will sweep away (everything) and wherever the dog goes he will bark (excessively or without reason). Both L. Einsler, *Mosaik*, 35, and B 612 have been misled by a mispronunciation (*sêl sâll*). A thing will take its natural course, and a person cannot change his bad habits.
429. *nahêtak mâ -ntahêt, w-yt-tâby' fik gâlyb; dâ nab il-kâlb â'waj walâu inhâtî* (or *hattêto*) *fi mît 'âlyb*. I forbade (it) you and you did not desist (from it); The dog's tail is crooked, even if put into a hundred forms (sc. to straighten it).
430. *hî'ta' dânbat il-kâlb udallîha, w-illi fîh 'âde mâ byhallîha*. Cut the dog's tail and make it hang down. And he, who has got a (bad) habit, does not give it up. (Rhyme) Variant (Arfâs): *îd il-kâlb: ... the dog's paw*. The first part of this verse is only for the sake of the rhyme. These two proverbial sayings have another variant: *hâtîtu dâ nab il-kâlb fi-l-'âlyb arb'in sâne u bî'y â'waj* (L).
431. *hî'ta' râs il-kâlb ybtârafo myn dâ nabo* (B 34). (Even if you) cut off the head of the dog, you will know him by his tail.
432. *yn kân il-hâma bythûbb il-kînnne bytrûh l-iklâb 'a-j-jânne* or *byttîh l-yklâb fi-j-jînnne* (B 211). When the mother-in-law loves her daughter-in-law the dogs will enter paradise. To illustrate an impossibility. Variant: *yn nîzyl il-kâlb 'a-j-jânne il-hâma bythûbb il-kînnne*. If the dog descends (!) to paradise the mother-in-law will love her daughter-in-law.
433. *kâlb dâ yîr wâla sâby' nâyim* (479). A roaming dog is better than (lit. and not) a sleeping lion. *kâlb dâ yîr wâla sâby' râbyd* or *râbîf*. A roaming dog is better than a sedentary (or cower-

ing) lion. *kālb ḥāyy wāla āsad māyyit* (class. *kālbun ḥāyyun ḥāirun myn āsadyūn māyt*). A living dog is better than a dead lion. Cf. Eccl. 9 4. *kālb fālyt wāla sāby' marbūt* (L). A loose (unchained) dog is better than a bound lion.

434. *illi biddo yāklo l-kālb yāklo -s-sāby'.* Let that which the dog should eat be eaten up by the lion. Cf. No. 4.
435. *myš kull kālb bykūn šammūr.* Not every dog is a "black dog."
436. *miṭl l-yklāb: by-s-sāfar ta'bān u by-l-ḥāḍar ju'an.* Like the dog, tired when journeying, and hungry when resting. Of a lazy fellow.
437. *zāyy il-kālb, rāḍi by-l-'ylle w-ir-rāḥa* (B 340). Like the dog, contented with little and rest.
438. *zāyy l-iklāb, 'ind yz-zāḥme bytgāyyib.* Like the dogs, when they are badly needed they are absent.
439. *zāyy il-'irfe: bytmüssyḥ iz-zbāb u bytsāḥhyḥ l-iklāb.* Vulgar (cinnamon in drink causes greater secretion of urine).
440. *il-kālb amīn, nējis, 'ātyl, radīyy it-tāb' w-il-āṣl* (C). The dog is faithful, filthy, bad, of wicked character and low origin.
441. *il-kālb ānjas ma-ykūn iza -gtāsal.* The dog is most filthy when washed.
442. *yt'am kālbak būḥrus dārak, jāuwi' bḥssak byākul (bōkol) fārak* (C). Feed your dog and he will watch your house. Keep your cat hungry and she will eat up your mice (rhyme). Cf. the classical: *ājī' kālbaka yatbā'uka*, "Starve your dog and he will follow you." Compel a bad man to serve you!
443. *rābbi kālbak bū'qur jāmbak* (B 319). Raise a dog and he will bite you in the leg (lit. wound your side).
444. *mā dā'at il-'āṣa by-l-kālb!* A stick is not lost on a dog.
445. *yn šuft sāyib sāyybo, ḥāllī-lyklāb ytnāyybo!* (Rhyme). If you see (sc. a beast) wandering, abandon it. Let the dogs bite it! Mind only your own business!
446. *šūf u sāyyib u ḥāllī l-iklāb ytnāyyib!* See (sc. a thing or an animal) but abandon it. And let the dogs bite (it) (with their canine teeth). Rhyme.

447. *hàra -l-kàlb wàla ràja bàny ádam!* Better (sc. to use) the dung of a dog, than to beg a man for a favour.
448. *yì'an yd-dbàja illi -btyhtâj la-hàra klâb.* Slang. (May God) curse the tanning, which is in need of dogs' dung.
449. *il-yklâb byjû'u, byjû'u tà-yinmàttu u byâklu, byâklu ta-yinbàttu* (C). The dogs starve and starve until they stretch (like rubber). They eat and eat so long that they burst.
450. *hallâh iy'âuwi zàyy il-kàlb!* (L). Let him bark like a dog.
451. *sàllam il-kàlb 'a-j-jàru.* The dog saluted the whelp. Said jokingly, when two doubtful fellows meet.
452. *myttànnik zàyy il-kàlb illi šab'ân mēš* (Bêt-jâla). Lying lazily like a dog who has satisfied himself with drinking (*leben*).
453. *kàlb hallaf jàru tÿly' ànjas myn abâh* (class. *abih*)! A dog left behind a whelp which was worse than his father. Presumably from the following classical doublet concerning a bad father and a worse son: *kâna fi-l-!âratî kàlbun àqlaqa-n-nâsa 'yuvâhu*  
*hàllafa-l-ma'ânû jàrwan fâqa fi-l-lâ'ni abâhu!*  
 There was in the streets a dog, Whose barking disturbed the people. The accursed one left behind a whelp, Who surpassed him in evil.
454. *hâtyt! dànabo bēn ijrēh* (L). He has his tail between his legs. Denotes disappointment, fear.
455. *jâuwâha nâuwâha*, words used for the barking and howling of a dog, applied to a wailing, whining woman.
456. *kùll kàlb 'àla maštûbto (yb-bâbo L) nabbâh.* Every dog barks when on his own bench (door L).
457. *yl-kàlb yb-dâro sâby.* In his house the dog is a lion.
458. *il-kàlb ma bytsâtar illa fi bâb dâro.* The dog does not show himself (sc. courageous) except at his own house door.
459. *il-kàlb bytfâšar fi maḥâllo.* The dog boasts in his own place.
460. *kùll kàlb fi blâdo dîb.* Every dog is a wolf in his own country.
461. *kàlb bu'iddyš aḥûh.* A dog does not bite his brother. "Dog won't eat dog."

462. *kāššyr 'an nābak: il-kūll byhābak* (L) (B 477). Show your white teeth and everybody will dread you.
463. *illi āslo kālb lāzym yinbaḥ*. He who is a dog by origin must needs bark. A mean man will commit mean actions.
464. *mýtl kālb il-yahūd mā by'āuwy gēr 'a-l-fū'ara*. Like a Jewish dog he only barks at poor people. Said of a coward.
465. *kālb iy'āuwi ma'āk wāla kālb iy'āuwi 'alēk*. (Better) a dog barking for you than against you. Better to have the mean man at your side than against you.
466. *byir'a l-y-klāb 'a-n-nūšš*. He tends dogs on half shares. Applied to a lazy person or one without a job.
467. *yā rā'y-l-iklāb šū nābak gēr il-bāhdale u ta'tī' ytyābak?* (Rhyme). O dog-tender, what does it avail you but insult and the tearing of your garments? Leave this inappropriate job.
468. *illi by'tāz il-kālb by'ullo yā šēḥ Āḥmad (yā Hajj Āḥmed, yā sidi)* (L). He who needs a dog addresses him: "O Sheikh Āḥmad (or O Hajj Āḥmed, O my lord!)
469. *būs il-kālb 'a-tūmmo ta- tỳ'di gāradak mýnno* (B 263). Kiss the dog on his mouth until (in order that) you may have obtained your aim from him.
470. *myn 'illyt il-hēl šāddu 'a-l-yklāb ysrūj* (B 578). (Variant to 168.)
471. *ilhi-l-kālb yb-ādme*. Try to divert the dog by a bone! It's easy to satisfy him in order to reach one's aim.
472. *āna ba'ul la-ḥaddāmy, ḥaddāmy bu'ul la-l-kālb w-il-kālb bylōlyḥ ibdānabo*. I say it to my servant, my servant passes the order to the dog, and the dog wags his tail. Said to impress upon a person the immediate and personal following of a given order.
473. *l-ymsāḥḥam (il-manḥūs) lau rīkyb ij-jāmal by'ūdḍo (bu'ūdḍo) l-kālb*. If the disgraced or unlucky person rides even on a camel, he will be bitten by a dog. Such is his hard luck.
474. *il-id illi ma btyjḍar yf'ūdḍha būsha w-id'i 'alēha bi-l-kāsyr*. Kiss the hand which you cannot bite and wish that it may break.
475. *il-kālb būdhul dārḥun bytla' nā'yš fūḥde*. The dog enters their house and comes out with a thigh missing. Said about clever and mean thieves.



476. *il-âsmar kâlb w-yl-âbyaḍ kâlb u kûllhun yklâb ulâd yklâb*. The black one is (surely) a dog and so is the white one and all of them (both of them) are dogs, sons of dogs.
477. *byšûf il-'ûbbe bišyḥma mazâr u hî mârwa la-l-yklâb*. He sees the dome and think it a holy shrine, but it is (only) a shelter for dogs.
478. *il-ġazzâle -š-šâtra btiġzyl 'âla òjr il-kâlb* (C). A clever (industrious diligent) spinning woman spins on the leg of the dog. She knows how to use her means (in praise).
479. *âhl il-bâlad ḥasadu l-kâlb 'âla šûfo*. The people of the village envied the dog for his wool. He is envied for nothing.
480. *šûfna l-kâlb 'a-dâhro šûf ḥasabnâh ḥarûf*. We saw wool on the dog's back, and considered him to be (took him for) a sheep.
481. *lâ tythârra myn 'aššâs kâlb šûf*. Var.: *mâ fiš myn wâra 'aššâs ...* (B 501). Do not expect to get wool from a dog-shearer. There is nothing to be expected from a dog-shearer (a wretched man).
482. *ḥâlaq bâb bîzwi min l-yklâb* (B 302). Even an old door keeps away the dogs. Everything can be useful.  
 a) *râfâ' îro*, (slang) he has pissed, urinated.  
 b) *râfâ' îrêh*, he has stretched out his legs, (died).
483. *hîlm l-yklâb fatafît* (B 294). The dogs dream of crumbs. Everbody has his own wishes.
484. *kûllma hâzz il-kâlb dânabo*. As often as the dog wags his tail. Said jokingly to denote frequency.
485. *dûs 'a-dânabo târa 'âjabo* (B 313). Tread on his tail and you will see his true character (surprised reaction).
486. *min 'âšš 'a-dânabak?* (L). Who trod on your tail? Who has hurt you? Ironically to people who meddle in others' personal affairs.
487. *byjûh (by'âwvi) zâyî il-kâlb*. He barks and yelps like a dog. Of a man who whines, sarcastically.
488. *ṭul in-nhâr fi bâ'ḏhyn "ḥaw, ḥaw"*. They bark at each other the whole day. Of two women who always quarrel.
489. *ġaras 'a-tyz kâlb*. A bell on the arse of a dog (slang). Something out of place.



490. *â'waj zay dâ nab il-kâlb*. Crooked like a dog's tail. Cf. No. 429.
491. *zay farmân l-yklâb, mîn by'ra u mîn bîsma'?!*  Like the *firmân* of (for) the dogs, no one reads it and no one pays attention to it.
492. *hawwîf zây y il-kâlb (L)*. As cowardly as a dog (sc. in the streets).
493. *zay kalb ij-jÿrde*. Like a dog which has lost its hair, mangy, ugly.
494. *'îšyt yklâb (L)*. A dog's life.
495. *lâmma (wa't ma) iyjâuwiḥ (iyjalḥy)l-kâlb ḥÿlyb iṣ-šurmâye*. When the dog howls turn a shoe upside down (sc. to make him silent).
496. *int mitl il-kâlb ÿbtyt'âttal ma' yn-nâs (L)*. You are like a dog, quarrelling with the people.
497. *ûlrub -l-kâlb yb-'âṣa la twâssyḥ îdek*. Beat the dog with a stick, that you may not dirty your hands.
498. *bêtak mitl ḥuṣṣ il-kâlb lâ ilo mânfas wâla bâb*. Your house is like a dog's kennel, it has neither outlet nor door. You cannot boast about it.
499. *šuftak inṣâbgat mitl šuft il-kâlb*. Your wool is already dyed like that of the dog. You have no more chance here.
500. *'uṣṣ šuf yklâb y'mal ybṣât*. Shear dog's wool and make a carpet. Advice to a worthless, unbearable fellow.
501. *kâššar il-kâlb 'an ynyâbo ḥâuwaf jirâno*. The dog showed his white teeth and frightened his neighbours. It was tactless of him, as the neighbours (in a wider sense) belong to the family, so to speak.
502. *kûll yklâb il-ḥâra bydâuru 'a-l-ḥêr*. All the dogs on the street are looking (searching) for the good. One has also to work, as hope itself is insufficient for life.
503. *fâttyš 'âla kâlb u ḥâlly' yn'âlo*. Hunt for a dog and take off his shoes. Advice to a lazy person.
504. *klâb il-ḥâra btâkul myn dâarak*. The dogs on the street eat from your house. Not a good sign.

505. *klâb il-qlûhur mytl klâb il-'âsyîr*. The dogs of noon are like those of afternoon. Time does not change their character.
506. *kull il-iklâb yltâmmu 'a-l-lahhâm*. All dogs have gathered round the butcher.
507. *âzam šâhyb la-l-kâlb il-lahhâm*. The dog's biggest friend is the butcher.
508. *ym'âšaryt l-yklâb zâyî ym'âšaryt il-lîâm*. The companionship of dogs is like that of vile men.
509. *dârry kâlb wâla -tdârry ibyn âdam*. 'auwyd . . . (B 414). Let a dog be accustomed to you (your society) and not a man (for you cannot easily get rid of the latter).
510. *il-kâlb marzû*. The dog has his sustenance (sc. from God, who does not forget any of his creatures).
511. *il-kâlb ibyn halâl*. The dog is (an) honest (man). Presumably because he is faithful. In a sarcastic way it is denied.
512. *il-kâlb byâ'raf ij-jamîl*. A dog knows a favour (and is grateful for it). Don't let a dog shame you.
513. *il-kâlb hâ'man myn il-bÿsse*. The dog is to be more trusted than the cat.

## COMMENTARY ON THE ANIMAL PROVERBS

1. Lit. "The house of the lion does not get empty of bones." Cf. Is. 38 13. Analogous to *mġârt-yd-dâb(e)'*, hyena's den, there is a *mġârt-es-sâb(e)'*, lion's den (Psalm 10 9; Nahum 2 12). There are no more lions in Palestine (Cant. 4 8), as they have become extinct since the early Middle Ages. The lion is the symbol of uprightness, courage and fair-dealing. Especially the bridegroom is likened to him, as in the following:

*'arîsna ya âsad ma yîry'bak saby' w-yg'ûd*  
*balâkum ma yijîni šâbr w-yg'ûd*  
*mâta ya âsad nytlâmlam u nug'ûd*  
*u nyftkir bi-îyyâm illi mađâ . . . ba.*

Our bridegroom, O lion, who fearest neither wild beasts nor soldiers,  
I have no patience nor can I stay without you;  
When, O lion, shall we meet, and sit together,  
And remember days gone by? ('Atāba)

Or this *šôbâš*:

'arīṣna ya āsad, mīlla āsad! hāda 'arīṣna ya siyādi!  
'arīṣna illi yintāh il-gôm yām il-hābal w-yl-ulāde! Hē!

Our bridegroom, O lion, and what a lion (are you!)

This is our bridegroom, O my lords.

It is our bridegroom who gores the enemy

On the day of pregnancy and childbirth (of his bride). Hē!

2. *Sāb(e)* is a synonym and applies particularly to the lion. In Classical Arabic (and also in some cases of vernacular) it stands for other carnivora. *Tāl*, *butāl*, "to get out, to pass, to reach out." 'Irš stands here for a valuable thing.
3. The hyena is considered to be mean. *Yāklo* is town vernacular, whereas *yôklo* seems to be modified from that of the peasants. Throughout this article the assimilation of sounds is taken into account. King David was in a similar situation (2 Sam. 24 14) and his expression is remarkable from this point of view.
4. Or: "It is safer to stand by a lion, than by a hyena." 'Ālb = stomach; cf. the colloquial 'ālby *bujā'ni* (my stomach pains me).
5. 'Ālb here for *ḥudn* = lap. 'Ā'yd 'a-'ālby "Sitting on my lap (stomach, heart)" is used of a person. Sometimes animals are considered to be of better character than man.
6. Lit., the beasts of prey. *Hāš*, *buhūš*, to collect, gather, get hold of, grapple. Is this not modified fatalism(?)
7. Two weak persons get the better of a strong one.
8. Also *sāby* 'hāllaf šybl u hāda -š- šibl ...  
A lion brought forth a whelp, and this whelp ...
9. A) of a fearless noble person; b) appreciatively; c) ironically, of an imaginary adversary. Has this *borômbo* any connexion with the Spanish *bramarbas*? Cf. the nursery rhyme: "Who killed the awe-inspiring lion, who overcame him?" "His brother Meimûn (ape), the twister of the moustache." Cf. my paper on nursery rhymes.

10. The first three names are Christian, the last is Mohammedan and of Persian origin. *Sāb(e)*<sup>c</sup>, a child born after seven months.
11. *Bēdas* is of Persian origin and used by Christians and Mohammedans alike. It would be of interest to deal specially with the family names and their occurrence.
12. A courageous man is said to have sucked milk from a mother whose milk is like that of a lioness.
13. *Yā -l- āb'ad*, "O most far one," is used to deflect the curse from a person present. This curse is either construed as analogous to *qāba'* (q. v.) or as "possessed of seven devils."
14. Other numbers dealing with the lion are 328 to 331 and 554 to 561.
15. The Syrian mule is a cross between a male donkey and a mare of inferior breed. It combines therefore all bad qualities of both sides. Its breeding is nowadays not forbidden, as it seems to have been in ancient Israel (if Lev. 19 19 is to be understood in this sense). Mules are hardier than horses, and stronger than a donkey. They need less food than a horse, and are swifter, and surer on mountainous roads. They are used as pack animals, in which capacity they carry about twice the average donkey load. But they are also appreciated as riding animals, just as in biblical times. Jokingly one may swear by a mule, saying: *w-yhyāt illi šamm il- ārd u 'ānfas!* By the life of him, who smelled the ground and kicked! An energetic person may be called humorously *ahu šamma*, a somewhat untranslatable expression referring to the above. With our proverb cf. the Turkish version: *qatyrā sormüş: babān kimdyr? anām āt demiş*. They asked the mule: "Who is your father?" It answered: "The mare is my mother." The maternal uncle has a very honoured position in the family. He is said to be the prototype of his sister's sons: *tultēn yl- wālad la-hālo* (two thirds of the boy are to be attributed to his maternal uncle). Another proverb says: *mā bynkir il- ma'rūf ylla rādiy il-hāl* (Only he who has a wicked maternal uncle is ungrateful). It is of interest to note, that the Bedouin judge takes the oath in the following manner: *gūlli bhāgg yn-nābi u-hālak!* "Tell me, by the (right of the) prophet and by (that of) your maternal uncle!"



16. Lit. "mules," for the sake of the rhyme. Lame animals in a caravan are put behind without a load, and are used for riding if necessity occurs.
17. There are several explanations of the barrenness of the mule. According to one King Solomon cursed it, because it carried his rebellious brother when waging war against King David. As I have heard this in my childhood I cannot trace its origin. Another version is that he disobeyed King Solomon, when all other animals did not dare. Therefore it can neither impregnate, nor become pregnant (*lâ by'âššyr wâla byf'âššar*).
18. The unlucky is unlucky, even when they hang a lantern on his rear end. For if he farts violently he will extinguish the light, and if he does so noiselessly it will flicker. Slang. Usually only the first part is said, more often only the first two words. To repel the evil eye a blue glass bead is sown to the halter or bridle of the animal. Sometimes there is a fine set of beads sewn to the halter or the breeching of the animal's harness. This is more the case with costly animals, mules, and horses, but also donkeys and camels may have such sets of beads. The blue bead is supposed to attract the evil eye to itself, thus counteracting its supposed fatal influence on the animal. A lantern is supposed to do that to a greater extent, because of being used in quite an out of the way place.
19. Said of a man who is too satisfied. As the mules in a caravan-sary get plenty of food and rest, they "feel their oats."
21. *šâhhat bâgle 'âmat zible* (Slang). A mule urinated and a piece of dung floated (sc. above it). Also ironically used of a conceited person. Also to denounce nepotism.
22. c) Further proverbs dealing with the mule are Nos. 121, 227, 562—563, 566, 955, 979, 1015.
23. The official counting of goats used to be on the first of February (O. S.) every year, during the Turkish regime. They were counted at the same time in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia and Cilicia. Young kids and lambs were not enumerated, and goats and sheep belonging to *zawâya*, *takâyah* and monasteries, were exempt from taxation.—The he-goat is a symbol of stupi-



dity, a word for which, *tayāse*, is derived from it. Goats bear about four times a year, and it is still common to see a villager carrying the kids. Very young kids are not killed (Ex. 23 19). A Baghdād version makes the goat drink clear water, *māyy ma'in*.

24. Said of a man, from whom you ask a favour which he refuses to grant.

26. Said of persons who behave like "Hans in Luck" in Grimm's fairy tales. Cf. the following verses:

*u-kām myn nāh̄le bāla sīllam ragēnāha?*

*u-kām myn zāl̄le la-ṣ-ṣāhib samahnāha?*

How many palms have we climbed without a ladder? (Cant. 7 8)

How many trespasses have we forgiven the friend!

From the *sahje*, *Bêt-jāla*.

In the following 'atāba-verse the girl is compared to a goat:

*ya 'ānzet yl-ḡarūra lēš ma ulitti*

*ya šāhr yl-ḡed kullo ma uritti*

*w-i'yūni lik manāh̄yl lyn uritti*

*u-sidri lik ḡor yinbitlik 'yšāba!*

O goat with a blaze on the forehead why didn't you bring forth?

All the hot month (or hot season) you didn't come to drink.

My eyes are springs for you, if you come to drink,

And my breast is the *ḡor* (Jordan Valley), which yields grass  
(or herbs) for you!

A "voice for the bride" (*ṣōt la-l-'arūs*), *Bêt-jāla*:

*rabbētik nāh̄le bi-jāmb yd-dār*

*w-asqētik ya nāh̄le mny-lēbyt il-'attār . . .*

I have reared you, o palm-tree, near the house,

And have watered you, o palm-tree, from the box of the perfumer . . .

(Cant. 3 6)

28. *Sallāh* = skinner. The evil being done, nothing hurts any more.—  
Some townspeople use incorrectly *šāh* for "goat."

29. Said by townspeople. Cf. the Turkish ironical '*aqyl dāḡylyrken ben eššek şulamaya getmîşydim*. At the distribution of common sense I was away watering the ass.

31. This seems to be a cynical version of 127, 2b. Only the first part is quoted. I have not been able to trace the original of this semiclassical idiom.

32. Because *il-hàrake bàrake*, "work (lit. movement) means blessing." If you are unlucky in one place try another.
33. Also, every one has his "tendon of Achilles" or his "cross." Or, such is the course of the world. Turkish variant: *her qoyùn kendi bāja gyndàn aşylır*. Every sheep is hung by its legs.
34. *šâh* = ewe. One Rotl = 2,880 Kg. The usual yield of a bee-hive is 3—4 Rotls a year.
36. *er'ıyye* is "pasture" as well as "herd."
38. *bişîh* = shout, cry out, for *bimâ'i* = to bleat.
39. *min drâ'y* with (the power of) my own arm = by myself.
- 40—41. If you attend to your own affairs you get double profit out of them.
43. *'âfş*—gall-nuts. The oak has its name from them. Goats are very fond of eating the bark of the trees. The skins of goats are prepared (tanned) with gall-nuts.
44. b) Ironically used for a person of strong sexuality.
46. *mâslah* is a euphemism for "brothel," cf. Prov. 7 22.
47. (b) *ıjdayyâna* is an obsolete game, at which the dexterity and climbing capacity of a trained goat was shown to the public for a few pence.

The ox is one of the four most important animals of the peasants. In classical Arabic the word *hûli* = yearling is applied only to a sheep. An inexperienced youth may be compared to a suckling calf (*ıjîl rād'i*). The ox is a stupid animal and passes as such with us. A love ditty has the following lines;

*ıilly birâso hâwa l-hâki mâ'o hşâra*  
*yîsbah la-tôr il-bâqar yûhrut fi-l-barrıyya . . .*

"Talking with a person who has fallen in love, is useless, for he resembles an ox ploughing in the wilderness" . . . To be in charge of calves is not a very respectable job. The "*ajjâl*" collects his calves every morning and drives them out to the pasture, for which job he receives a *sâ'* of wheat yearly pro head. An unsuccessful school is called *madrâst ıjûl* = calves' school.

57. *Wāšam*, "tattoo," here "bad sign," because they are ill or the like, while others are out grazing in the field (Habakkuk 3 17). This I have heard also given as advice. Beef is not much favoured with us; besides, poor cows are usually slaughtered after the good ones.
59. Variant *baqara* = cow.
60. Bodily defects betoken an abnormal state of mind, according to common belief, especially nervousness and a somewhat bad character. Every ox or goat is given a name by the shepherd, according to a distinguishing mark or a special bodily feature. Bodily defects are considered as curses and used as such.
61. Cf. the German: *Er ist bekannt wie ein bunter Hund*, and the Turkish: *damgali eşşek qolây belli olür*. A marked donkey is easily known.
63. The grown-up calves are put in the yoke with an experienced ox, to learn to plough. As the young one is not accustomed to such heavy work, he will naturally try to run every way and so make the furrows crooked. It is the duty of the old animal to keep steady, drawing the plough in the same direction, unconcerned by the tricks of the calf (cf. Jer. 31 8).
68. Cf. also the saying: *mâl id-dêr la-d-dêr*, "the property of the convent belongs to the convent."
70. *mâli tôr yînyksyr qârno wâla bâqara tlâtty' fî jûrno*. I do not have an ox which breaks its horns, nor a cow which makes its trough filthy. Quoted to show indifference toward a person's threatenings.
71. "He who becomes a sailor gets the air by its horns." Metonymically used to express the mastering of difficulties.
73. There are sometimes several yoke of oxen working together in a field. As they start ploughing from one direction, they meet always, when turning the yoke for a new furrow.
76. This expression is taken from Exodus 32. Another explanation could be that "he would make you apostate," as worshipping an animal is considered to be heathenism. A common belief wrongly attributes to the Druses, a *Bâtinîyya* sect of high moral standing,

the worship of the calf. But it is improbable that such a practice exists among these enlightened and noble people.

Another explanation of this proverb: He is the right man to make you pay for your faults, to cope with your pride or unruly behaviour.

81. *Abu tôr*, nomen gentile.

83. *Anchusa officinalis*. There is a special meal made of it, called *wàraq ylsân*, containing small pieces of meat and rice wrapped up in the leaves.

84. This has reference to an event in Bir Zêt of the early nineties, where an ox ran off from the field, being frightened by the music of the band of the Terra Santa convent. Consequently the villagers had to run after the ox for a considerable time. Were they not right in considering this exciting accident as a turning point in their local era?

85. A rustic expression for a self-conceited person.

89. *ajállak* or *ajàll šânak*, answers to the Latin "salvo honore."

90. Better; *malôš*.

92. Vulgar for the usual *balâš* or the less known *la ànfi*, "my nose does not mind."

93. Vulgar of a very daring person.

94. A) Recklessly courageous; b) of a Sodomist; c) of a very mean person.

98. "Par nobile fratrum."

99. *lâhsato il-bâ'ara* = The cow has licked him. Said of twists in the hair, just above the forehead or the temples (Eng. "cow-lick").

100. One must know how to help oneself, or how to make a simple deduction by inference.

101. Cf. the Turkish: *qûrt qôjayınja köpeklerinî masharasy olur*, when the wolf grows old he becomes the laughing-stock of the dogs, and also: *attân düşen ölmâz, eşsektên düşen ölür*, He, who falls from the horse doesn't die, but only he who falls from the donkey; *tut ağajdân düşen eşşek olur*, he who falls from the mulberry tree becomes a donkey! Cf. No. 121.

103. Also said by a girl with a short neck, as the long neck is considered to be beautifying.
105. Also of a person with many bad habits.
107. a) To excuse a trespass; b) we are accustomed to these things.
111. We have not been affected by the great loss; how should the smaller one affect us?
112. Cf. also: *ij-jâmal hân willa-j-jammâl?* Is the camel or its driver here?
114. One rule for all.
121. But compare the Turkish proverb: *deveden duşenè mezâr gerèktir*: He who falls from the camel is fit for the grave.
122. Said when a tedious work is undone by accident.
123. The ear denotes a very small part of the animal. Cf. the Turkish *deveden qulâq* (an ear of the camel) used in this sense.
125. Be a man at all costs or in every position.
130. A *qontâr* is a hundred *ratl*; each *ratl* has 900 dirhem at 3,2 gr. each.
131. Also: It is not done by words only.
132. More fully: *ṭâb min işlâh ij-jâmal*. He has been healed by the urine of the camel. Said of a simple remedy or small thing with a big result or influence.
133. A bad man is a bad man.
134. Another explanation: "the name of the camel has killed him," referring to a person, who has been scared to death at the very sight of a big responsibility.
135. Cf. also: *byšûf il-ba'âda byihšibha jâmal*. He sees a gnat and takes it for a camel.
136. Curiously enough this is quoted of a person from whom one does not expect any profit or good turn.
138. Turkish version: *derejile döstliq idèn qapûyü büyük açmalî*. He who makes friend with the camel-driver, must widen his door.
140. This is as logical as that.



141. The camels rut in February, when they may even become dangerous to men. This expression answers to the German "fuchsteufelswild."
142. From a *sàhje*.
- 150b. Plants: *hurfeš ijmal*, *Sylibum marianum*; *šök ijmal*, *Echynops viscosus*.
152. In a story the father admonishes his son to have "a big house, a swift animal, and an obedient wife."
153. Lit. "they have their salt on their tails." As they cannot see it, they easily forget it. To eat bread and salt with some one, is to become intimate with him. *u-ḥāqq yl-ḥùb(e)z w-yl-mýl(y)h illi bēnna*, "by the bread and salt, which (sc. has been partaken) between us," is a solemn assurance, which may replace an oath. A man forgetting the "bread and salt" of another person is considered very mean or of a low origin.
155. Take a thing seriously, lest you spoil it.
157. An unguaranteed tradition of the prophet urges people to feed their horses abundantly, as this is considered a good deed. (Cf. *Makârym ul-ahlâq*, Cairo 1303 A. H., p. 111.)
- 162a. Or "honour and disgrace."
165. *ykhêle* = mare with painted eyes; everybody must have something to care for, or a private hobby. Shorter: *û'zab, jâj; ârmal, yhmâr*. A bachelor: hens; a widower: a donkey.
167. Also ironically: It is a trifle.
168. Cf. the Turkish: *At yerinè eššèk bağlamâq*. To tie the donkey in place of the horse. Or this one: *goyùn bulâmadyjy yerdè keçiyè Abdurrahmân čélébi čajyrlâr*. Where there are no sheep, they call the goat Abdurrahman Čelebi (title of the head of the famous Mevlevi [Dancing Dervishes] at Konia; also given to some notables by their inferiors).
169. One has to take things in their order.
171. There is no trace of it.
175. Cf. Jer. 58.
183. *Tragopogon buphtalmoides* (Post).

184. Fâris is also a personal name.

185. The donkey is quite an intelligent animal, who likes warm sunshine and peace. He recognizes every road he has once passed over, and the donkeys for sale at the *sûq ej-jûm'a* in Jerusalem go, without being driven, straight to the spot where their fellows stand. But the donkey lacks initiative. People say irreverently: *il-hâry hmâr yn-nûri*, *il-'assîs yhmâr iblîs*, *w-yl-mutrân yhmâr iŝ-ŝitân*. The parish priest is the ass of the gipsy, the priest (or monk) is the ass of Iblîs, and the bishop is the ass of Satan. The noisy braying of the donkey is proverbial. People say that the devil has just made him a nasty remark about she-asses. The Persians also have an indecent story about the braying. He is sometimes taken as the prototype of a man with unrefined manners: *jôzik yhmâr âraj ymhâmmal qâmardîn(i) yâ-mm-il- mânadîl(i)* . . . O thou with the fluttering kerchiefs (or veils) your husband is a lame donkey loaden with *qâmardîn* (apricot-paste)—a passage from a now obsolete ditty. Of a man of questionable manners one may hear the remark: *âdâmy, rabatû mû'yl- awâdym u šarad*. He is a "noble" (honest) man; he was tied together with the „honest men" and ran away . . . When riding a donkey people put their *'abâye* underneath, if no saddle is available (St. Luke 19 25).

189. Cf. Jer. 22 19.

190. *Tarrâs* (from *trs*, "to fill") = hirer of donkeys. The donkey-drivers, who are mere lads, are famous for their severe treatment of the animals.

194. But: Do not open a special khan for a donkey. *lâ tûftah hân 'ala hmâr!* Cf. No. 169.

204. The rights of the neighbour are considered to be holy, as the Prophet has ordered their strict preservation. Sodomy with asses is looked upon as a very bad deed. Indeed it is considered a curse even by the Turks, who call a villain "a sodomist with asses" (*eŝšek sikèn*). But the Kurds on the other hand practice this vice, and boast of it among themselves, as I have often had occasion to notice. In Upper Mesopotamia it is considered nothing serious, as many young men are given to it. Upon my asking whether a certain lad was already married, another man

answered for him in his presence before the sheikh: "He is still practising sodomy with donkeys," which answer was well received by those present and did not arouse the anger of the man concerned. Persians are in this way no better than the rest of their neighbours. In fact, the Persian muleteer is often accused of having a young mule reserved for this purpose . . .

211. Conditions have changed altogether.

217. Young donkeys are favoured pets with boys. Their dexterous movements and funny behaviour are much liked by them.

221. It is a polite custom to address other people as one's relatives, e. g., *ya 'amm, ya hâl*, O paternal (maternal) uncle (etc.), if one needs them.

222. On the other hand: *ybnak 'ala ma trabbîh u-yhmârak 'ala ma tôhdo*. Your son will be as you raise him, and your donkey as you take him.

223. Vide the German: Das Kind ist tot, die Gevatterschaft ist aus. Animals, especially mares, may be bought by several persons together, who may possess one or more "legs" of the animal (as they term it).

228. As the membrum of the donkey is relatively very big, it does not need anything to make it visible.

233. Also metonymically to be understood in a homosexual way.

234. A poor version of Nr. 16. Cf. Samson's answer, Judges 1418.

235. Turkish version: *eşşeyinî devemeyen paldymynî devèr*. He who cannot beat the donkey, beats the packsaddle.

237. Mind your own faults instead of being conceited.

238. Turkish: When horses are quarreling together the donkey dies (*atlâr teperÿrken eşşeyin jânÿ çÿqâr*).

239. Before the fodder reaches you you will be dead already. Variant: *şîl ya hmâr ta yîjîk yl'alÿq*. Bray, O donkey, that fodder may reach you! Do something, to get it.

245. Also: *irbuṭ wâḥad tÿlqa tñên!* Fasten one donkey and you will find two of them. Advice to keep everything in its proper place.

249. Of one who though in a good position himself, envies those below him. Variant: *ḥmār yl- muṭrān*, the bishop's donkey (rhymes better than *ḥyḥām*).
250. Originally: *il-wālad wālad walāu šār 'ādī bālad*. The boy remains (is) a boy, even if he becomes the kadi (judge) of a town.
251. Variant: *zāyy il-ḥamār byistānna 'ōlyt: ḥiṣ!* Like the donkeys, waiting to hear: *ḥiṣ!* (before stopping). Of a lazy person.
252. Might is greater than right.
253. A: *naṣībak* B:? A: *illi šāb . . .*
257. Is said to or of an impractical fellow.
258. To delude him with flattering hopes.
259. Of a forgetful person, who has the thing he is looking for, we say: *rākyb 'a-l-yḥmār u bydāwcyr 'alēh*. He is riding the donkey and hunting for it, or the literal Turkish version: *eṣṣeyi bynmýš eṣṣeyi aryor*. This actually happened to a peasant during July, 1924, when he was shown by the police at the Damascus gate (who intervened at the peasant's own request), that he had been riding the missing donkey all the day. The man had missed the donkey three times consecutively!
260. Cf. the corresponding proverb: *mītl fāsy-n-nūr bi-l-ḥawa* or *bi-j-jān* (C). Like the furt of eagles in the atmosphere.
261. They say, that sodomy is not mentioned in the Koran or the Ḥadīth, or at least it is not expressly forbidden. Therefore it is unimportant.
262. Also a curse and a nickname; cf. note to 204.
263. A special treatment for everybody.
264. To a tactless person: If one treats you well do you think you may ride on him? Do you really think we are donkeys?
265. Another joke: A: *mīn jāmb l-yḥmār*. B: *āna*. A: Who is besides the donkey? B: It is I. B would then be accompanying another friend.
270. We say of a stupid person: *byḥammīr la-š-š'ir in šāfo*. He snorts at the barley when he sees it. This expression is more properly used for a horse than for a donkey, yet the meaning is the same.

272. There exist many parallels to that related in Apuleius' *asinus aureus*. Another version is: Allah ḥâlago ħmâr = "God has created him a donkey" (L).
274. Milk-brothers are considered as very near relatives; they cannot marry each other's sister.
278. Cf. the family name Asinius in the gens Cornelia of ancient Rome.
279. Also the plant-names *ḫurfêš hamîn*, Cynara Syriaca; *fagqûs ħmâr*, Ecbalium Claterium.
280. Needless to say these curses are used by the lowest classes only.
281. Variant: *iẏdîrrak* = harm you, injure you.
283. Nâtse = Poterium spinosa, a thorny plant.
285. . . et respice finem!
286. La Fontaine's fable of the bob-tailed fox is curiously enough also known to the fellahîn.
291. Salvia Armeniaca is known in Upper Mesopotamia as Hâşa l-kalb.
292. Sheep are counted per head. The shepherd receives for his wages from the owner 5 šāʿ of wheat (not more than 30 kg.) and one quarter of the kids, in Transjordanian (Cf. Gen. 30 32). In Nablus and the vicinity he may draw a salary of L. E. 25 per annum, or 12 L. E. if he is supplied with food, shoes and garments. He teaches every sheep its own name (derived from some special feature of the animal) by giving it salt, soft twigs, or grass, and calling it repeatedly, until it has learned the name. The flock has a wether, who is the leader, miryâ'. Usually it has a bell, which when taken away may cause him great anxiety. The girl (or the wife) may be called in songs a "ewe", as in the following lamentation from Artâş:
- yâ ha-l-yġnême -s-sārha      yâ ha-š-šabâb yl-fâlħa  
yâ bîđ qûlyn fi-l-bâqar:      yn-nîr u-ys-sikke nhâjar!*
- Oh pasturing ewe,  
Oh white girls, tell it to the cows: Yoke and plough are forsaken!  
Oh ploughing youths,
293. Rights involve duties.  
295. Do not criticize others' faults.  
297. Sheep are marked early in spring with a red dye.  
298. Used especially of children in an appreciative way.



299. Cf. the story at the end of the article. Cf. also this saying: The industrious one (*šātyr*) says to the lazy one (shepherd), God has concealed the shame of these sheep by their tails. The goats, hearing this, tell him, You are the son of Iblis!
305. *‘abār* = lamb, nomen gentile.
307. Of an inconsiderate person. A similar phrase: *rās bāla ‘inēn u-utt bāla dinēn*. A head without eyes and a cat without ears. Something curious.
308. Cf. also the Turkish: *domuzdân bir qıl qopartmâq kâr*. To pull a hair from a pig is gain. One rejoices when one is able to get something from a stingy man.
310. One has to use adequate means to succeed.
320. Of a tactless person, with awkward manners.
322. Of two quarrelsome people, who make a sport of their quarrels. According to the saying: *bydāllu dūbb u’yrd*, they will remain bear and monkey.
323. A parallel to it in Turkish: “*būlbūli aṅ, ḥāzyrlā šeker, köpeyi aṅ ḥāzyrlā čomağy*.” Mention the nightingale and get sugar ready for it; mention the dog and prepare the club for him.
325. Another proverb on the wolf: *illi bykūnš dīb ltōklo d-diāb*. He who is not a wolf, will be devoured by wolves.  
Also: *la iymūt yd-dīb wāla tȳfna -l-gānam*.  
The wolf shall not die nor shall the sheep perish. Neither shall bear too heavy a loss. Said to arrange matters between two parties.
328. *ḡābat ys-sbā’ u-lȳ’bat yd-ydībā’*. Now the lions are away the hyenas play. “When the cat’s away the mice will play.”
338. *yd-dūb(y) fi-l-lēl sàb(y)*. The hyena becomes a lion at night. The hyena is supposed to be dangerous only when hungry. If met by people in broad daylight, it will run off, but at night it attacks men and animals, even caravans, scaring them to death.
338. According to common belief a hyena “fascinates” its prey, if it is a person, by splashing its excreta with its tail at the man’s head, who is thus *maḏbū’*. Invariably, even if met by people who try to save him, he will follow the hyena to its cave, crying all the way long: “O my father”, *ya yāba*. Reaching the cave, the hyena enters, and the man, trying to follow it,

not seeing that the entrance is too small for him, strikes his head violently. Consequently his head will bleed, whereupon he will recover his senses and run for his life.

339. Names of places are: *ja'âra* = hyena, *dâhr yd-ḏâb(y)* and *šâḥḥ yd-ḏâb(y)*.

340. The gazelle occurs very often in folk-songs. The beloved girl is always compared with her (Proverbs 5 19). Examples:

*gazzâlyn bi-l-ḥâla râty'                      ygrûno šâmḥa la-fôg*  
*'âla man wâsadak lêla                      lêla bi-l-'alâli fôg!*

A gazelle is pasturing freely in the open country,

"His" horns are raised upwards;

(Happy he) who shares the pillow with you, one night,

A night, upstairs, in the upper rooms!

Or this one: from the *jâlwe* of the bride:

*êš ha-l-gazâl illi šâ'ro ḥbâl yḥbâl*  
*myn ġiyite 'âllage fi lôlyt-il-ḥylḥâl!*

What a gazelle with hair like long ropes,

In his seductive manner he has fastened it to the curves  
of his silver anklets!

Or this one from a *mauwâl*:

*wêš ha-l-gazâl illi yimši nâtt*  
*yir'a ḥuzême u-yiftar 'ala frâḥ il-bâtt*  
*\* subḥân man 'âllam il-ġuzlân ġamz u-nâtt ...*

What is this gazelle who walks springingly?

He grazes on lavender and breakfasts on ducklings;

Praise be to HIM, who taught the gazelles to spring and  
to jump ...

Or this one: *hâ-l-yġzâiyyil wâra ummo birûmm in-nâfal*  
*kin laḥâdto bi'êni laḥâdni u jafal!*

This little gazelle is grazing trifolium behind his mother;

When I looked sideways at him he glanced at me and  
was startled.

And this one: *wêš ha-l-gazâl hâ-lli 'an dârna mâraq*  
*ḥannan ykfûfo u bâzo fi-l-'âsal ġâraq ...*

What is this gazelle, which passed our house?

He has painted his palms with henna and his mouth has  
been dipped in honey.

344. Other plants: *ḥannân ḡazâl*, tulip; *damm il-gazâl*, *Helichrysum sanguineum*, which local Christian simplicity has nicely called *býzz il-âdra*, i. e., breast of the Holy Virgin.
346. For similar comparisons cf. II Sam. 28 and I Chron. 128.
350. Said to small boys.
353. Euphemism for enmity.
355. There are many stories relating how canny women overcame the traps laid for them by the *ḡûl*.
356. *il-ḡûl*, nomen gentile; *šáryt yl-ḡûle*, Cusenta palaestina, is a parasitic plant.
359. Cf. also: *râkib il-fâr 'aryân*. He who rides a mouse is naked.
362. The poor one is always wronged.
365. Variant: *bilâ'yb* = causes to play.
368. A) *Societas leonina*. b) Eternal enmity.
369. Said to a child; mice are considered beautiful and small.
381. Variant: *yttâlla' yl'yrd bi-l-kanîf*; 'âl: *hà-l-ymrây la-hà-l-wýšš yz-zarîf!* The ape looked into the W. C. and said: This looking-glass exactly suits this nice face! Slang. Said about a person who thinks himself a beauty.
382. Every goose thinks her own goslings swans. Cf. the Turkish parallel: *quzḡunà yavrâsu bûlbûl gelîr*. The raven thinks her fledgeling a nightingale. Or this: *kedynîñ yavrusu kediye şîrîn gelîr*: The cat thinks the kitten sweet.
387. This seems to be derived from a story, where the ape sits on the skiff, thus preventing people from using it. Another explanation: an unworthy man presiding over a meeting.
388. A treatment in its proper place. A misapprehension is expressed in the following: *fûşadu 'yrd dîrat, 'âlu: fî damm zâyid*. They bled a monkey (ape) and he (sc. in his nervous fear) broke wind. They said: He has got too much blood.
391. *'yrd* means here "devil". Probably it is the same in the expression, *ij-ju'ân yl-qýrd bysibb id-dîn fî bâṭne*. In the stomach of a hungry person a demon is cursing "the religion" (i. e., the most dreadful curse). And when making an oath (not seriously!)

one may replace the name "God", or "the prophet", or "your life" with the word "*qyrd*" in order to make it less horrible.

392. A boy holding in his hand a rope, which is fastened at the other end to a stone, a tree, a peg or the like, has to defend himself against the attacks of a number of boys, who strike him with their rolled up handkerchiefs. He has to take care not to let the rope go and at the same time to catch one of his attackers, who will then be "the fettered ape" in his place.
395. Variant: *môqade* = coal pan.
396. This is the moral of the story admonishing the husband to take care of his rights from the nuptial-night on. The second part, being the advice of the wife in that story, is not always added. L. Bauer relates it also at length, *Das Palästinische Arabisch*, third edition, pp. 204—208.
397. A small thing may bring much needed help, or the help comes from an unexpected side.
398. Said to illustrate presence of mind.
400. Of a man who keeps his own counsel.
401. Presumably derived from the old Arabic fable of the blacksmith and his cat, who licked the file and, seeing blood on it (from her own tongue) continued to lick it, until she had lost her tongue.
404. Variant: *irmy l'ütt biġi 'a-jrēh* (also conditional).
408. One ought not to take half-way measures.
409. Said of small eyes.
412. Cf. the proverb: *lôla-l-bis ma mmäsak il-fâr* = without the cat no mice can be caught.
416. Said of a very stingy person.
418. Cf. the proverb: *jôr yl'ütt wâla 'âdl yl-fâr*. A cat's tyranny is better than the justice of the mouse.
422. This is the moral of a story, relating the excessive love-making of two cats on a high roof; the male cat fell so heavily on his back, that he died instantly. Lit., "This is the end of sexual indulgence, you cursed cat." Said to show a man the outcome of his bad deeds.

423. A) *Acacia seyal*, c) *Calendula palaestina*, e) *Adonis palaestina*.
424. A formerly well-known Coptic woman in Jerusalem.
425. Dogs are utterly despised and nobody would think to buy a dog, because he is considered unclean (with the exception of the greyhound, who enjoys the privileges of a "clean animal"). Upon entering a village (or approaching big flocks) all over Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, one is encountered by these ferocious looking animals, who gnash with their teeth in a threatening manner, so that one remembers Psalm 22 16. The very name of a dog is a curse (2 Sam. 16 9). The dogs still form to a certain extent the "voluntary sanitary service" in town and village (Cf. 1 Kings 14 11). In towns where they are numerous, they have a tacit agreement that dogs of a certain quarter do not look for "food" in another quarter, or else they will be attacked by those whose quarters they have invaded.
426. You cannot get anything out of a mean man, whatever good turns you may have done to him.
428. I have been told by Mr. Jirius Yûsif Mañûr, (who assisted Baumann) that the version *sâll* = basket is nevertheless correct, as there seems to exist a waste-basket in every house of the village.
429. Usually only the second part is quoted with regard to an incorrigible person.
430. Another version: they put the dog's tail in a form for forty years and it remained crooked.
431. A man is known by his character.
441. The dog is an unclean animal. When washed, his smell is repulsive. Variant: *il-kâlb il-mablûl bi'târîš illi hawalê*. The wet dog will splash those around him.
443. Said of an ungrateful fellow.
444. A bad man needs rough treatment. It is also said of the stick that it had its origin (meaning its usefulness) in Paradise: *ašl il-'âša bi-jânne*.
448. Said when the necessity arises to ask a favour of a mean person.



458. Variant: *bihâwriš* = "barks" or "makes mischief, attacks persons."
462. Defend your rights and everybody will respect you.
465. Similar to 187.
468. A parallel: *in kallak 'ynd il-kalb hâje, 'ullo: ya sîdi!* If you have something to ask the dog, call him: O my lord! Turkish version: *Köprüden gecenâ qadar ayiyè dâyi derler.* Until one passes to the other side of the bridge one calls the bear "Maternal uncle."
469. In order to obtain your wishes from a mean man, you must overcome your aversion for him.
473. Variant: *il-fa'îr yn rîkyb ij-jâmal bu'ûdîdo -l-kâlb min tâht.* If the poor man rides on a camel, the dog will bite him from beneath.
476. Said of two equally mean persons.
477. Said of a man, who exaggerates, or is over-sanguine.
480. Do not be deceived by looks.
485. Beware of him.
490. *'âlu la-l-yklâb: ûhûrtu! 'âlu: ma fîš 'âde.* They said to the dogs: "Plough!" They answered: "There is no such a custom." Everybody has his own business.
491. A *fîrmân* used to be read aloud in the presence of the governor and the notables of the district.
495. Because by doing so you will prevent a disaster or the death of a person, according to common belief.
497. Cf. Nos. 441 and 444.
501. Variant: *ysnâno*, which would rhyme better.
507. Because he profits most from the butcher.
510. Cf. the Turkish proverb: *kör quşın yûvasynî tãñry yapâr*, God makes the nest of the blind bird. But against it: *riz' l-yklâb 'a l-majanîn.* Dogs' sustenance comes from fools. Only a fool feeds, or keeps dogs.

## BOOK REVIEWS

D. C. SIMPSON, *Pentateuchal Criticism*. Pp. xvi + 210. Oxford University Press, 1924. Price six shillings six pence net.

Dr. Simpson's book was issued first in 1914; it now appears in a second impression, with the addition of a single footnote and a short bibliography of English books on the subject. It is an excellent introduction to the study of modern higher criticism of the Pentateuch, written from a sane conservative point of view, and deserves the warmest commendation. Bishop Ryle's words in his Introduction to the book are not too favorable; the cultivated non-specialist usually has great difficulty in finding a clear-cut, untechnical defense of the critical position, and is, accordingly, at the mercy of numerous popular "apologetic" and anticritical books now available, many of which are couched in a specious and readily intelligible style. This book fills the gap very well indeed, and ought to be read widely.

Dr. Simpson devotes himself primarily to a logical and yet eminently readable presentation of the evidence in favor of the documentary analysis of the Pentateuch. He fully recognizes the limits of objective criticism, and does not claim an absurd infallibility for minor results, as sometimes apparently demanded by impetuous or one-sided critics. On the other hand he points out the weakness of the attacks made by Sayce, Naville, Wiener and others in such clear fashion that the reader can hardly fail to be convinced. The reviewer feels that this rebuttal might be made even more effectively. The opponents of the critical views have asked more than once whether the "critics" ever read "conservative" books. There is probably some justice in this complaint; at all events, many defenders of the „advanced“ critical school have lost fine opportunities for effective sword play by not reading the interesting pages of the *Journal of the Victoria Institute* and similar „conservative“ journals. Nothing could be more piquant than the debate between Wiener and some more eclectic members of

the "die-hard" group in a recent volume of the aforesaid journal, or than the internecine warfare which broke out over Dr. Orr's "dangerous concessions" to critical "anarchy." We are not overdrawing the picture when we assert that critics are not so divided in their attitude toward pentateuchal criticism as their opponents are. Such outstanding representatives of so-called conservatism as Sayce, Naville, Orr, Wiener, Kyle, Wilson have no common ground except a common foe, and their solutions are not only mutually irreconcilable, but to a large extent destroy one another. One is tempted to draw upon a rather long array of "exhibits" to illustrate this point, but our space will hardly allow.

We would not be understood, however, as denying all value to the conservative attacks, or of overlooking their real service to the cause of truth. No position is really secure until its strength has been thoroughly tested in every point. Moreover, many critics have unquestionably gone altogether too fast and far. Historical conclusions have been based on arbitrary deductions from the material analyzed, and the subjective element has often been painfully active. Unilateral evolution of religion and culture has been postulated where subsequent archaeological and historical studies have shown a complex and irregular development. It has been maintained that a rite was introduced by P because it does not happen to be mentioned by our fragmentary older sources. Worst of all, the good faith and honest intent of scribes and redactors have been impugned, where a slight acquaintance with ancient oriental literature would have suggested misunderstanding or adherence to erroneous historical or dogmatic theory. The biblical writers did not invent facts, though they were subject to the human mistakes of understanding and copying.

The famous Palestinian archaeologist, Dr. Bliss, has somewhere observed that the analytical methods of unraveling the strata of pentateuchal documents which he learned at Union Theological Seminary (also the home of another well-known "critic"—Edward Robinson, the founder of scientific Palestinian topography) proved most suggestive and helpful when he came to the task of dissecting the strata of occupation in a Palestinian mound. For as history and biology, philology and palaeontology exhibit a striking parallelism of method and logic, so it is with archaeology and criticism.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

ISRAEL EITAN, *A Contribution to Biblical Lexicography* (Columbia University Contributions to Oriental History and Philology, No. 10). Pp. 68. New York, Columbia University Press, 1924. Price two dollars.

Dr. Eitan's thesis is a fresh and somewhat adventurous excursion into the thorny field of biblical lexicography. Like the late Eliezer Ben Yehudah, he feels that the vast ocean of Arabic lexicography has still much material of value for Hebrew, at best but little known. He thus aligns himself definitely with Barth against the school of Delitzsch. Both attitudes have weighty reasons in their favor, but a one-sided tendency is always dangerous, as again exemplified in the study before us.

The subject-matter of Eitan's little book has mostly been published elsewhere, in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, *Revue des Études Juives*, etc. In fact some of his material, e. g., the Ethiopic etymologies, has been reprinted so often (at least four times in one case) and with so little modification that one feels the agreeable sensation of meeting an old friend while perusing the thesis. Dr. Eitan deserves felicitations on his energy in spreading the light in all the languages and journals available, and one may be pardoned for suggesting that he increase the number of wave-lengths used.

The book shows not a little ingenuity and knowledge of philological method, being a refreshing contrast in the latter respect to much recent work in Hebrew lexicography. Some of the suggestions made are almost certainly correct; others are far-fetched. Had the author studied the work of his predecessors he might have avoided a number of mistakes in dealing with stems. He should also have been less cavalier in his treatment of textual criticism. The number of typographical errors in the Greek quotations seems unnecessarily large (three mistakes in seven words, p. 63), but the reviewer is conscious that an author's hands are frequently tied in this respect.

A detailed criticism would occupy almost as much space as the book itself. A remark or two will, however, illustrate the preceding comments. Under no. 2 (p. 32) the author tries to show that there was a Hebrew word *gôy*, "wide valley," found in Zeph. 2 14, and



equivalent to Arabic *gaww*. Unfortunately for his line of reasoning, an original \**gaww* would appear in Hebrew as *gayy*—which is actually present in Hebrew in the sense “valley,” since נַי is naturally only an old spelling to prevent the necessity of writing the contracted form *gê* as נ alone (in the older orthography). The morphological treatment of Arabic and Hebrew on p. 55 is also very peculiar. On the other hand, some of the new distinctions between stems which have fallen together phonetically in Hebrew, though distinct in Arabic, are good, and represent a real contribution to the difficult subject of biblical lexicography.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

C. J. GADD, *A Sumerian Reading-Book*. Pp. vii + 197. Oxford University Press, 1924.

This modest title hardly does justice to Mr. Gadd's book, which in reality is a grammar as well as a reader. In nearly forty pages he has given us the best convenient account of Sumerian grammar available in any language. For clearness and concision his sketch is admirable, and little of importance has been omitted. The description of the Sumerian verb is excellent, and the author has wisely avoided a discussion of debated points. We miss a reference to the suggestive work of Witzel in this field. As stated in the preface, Poebel's important *Sumerische Grammatik* appeared too recently to be used.

The arrangement of the chrestomathy is very happy, and is handy without being too much so, like King's otherwise excellent *First Steps in Assyrian*. Mr. Gadd places the cuneiform original, in autography, on the left page, while the right page is divided into two columns, the first of which contains the transcription with interlinear translation, while the second contains the grammatical notes. The first selection in each category of script is provided with an interlinear transcription into Assyrian cuneiform. The passages given are well selected, and are calculated to give the reader a good idea of the main types of Sumerian literature, the importance of which to the



student of ancient history and comparative religions can hardly be overestimated, and is steadily growing, as one temple-library after another comes to light.

We may note a few minor points which were noticed in a rapid perusal—we avoid entering into a discussion of any difficult passages, since this would lead us far afield. The treatment of the phonology (pp. 14f.) seems rather terse, though commendably cautious. On the other hand it hardly seems advisable to raise the postpositions to the dignity of cases, saddling the student with such terms as “comitative,” “semblative,” etc. Turning to the chrestomathy proper we may note that Weidner has just now proved that *Lugal-TUR-da* is to be read *Lugal-banda* after all (*Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, vol. II, p. 14, n. 1)—p. 49, III, 1. On p. 51, 2 we note that the Sumerian name of Larsa is written *Arar*, though everywhere else *Zarar*, but absolute consistency in Sumerian transcription is still out of the question, and Langdon’s fanciful *Ilrar* = *Ellasar* has been avoided. Though *Zarar* is a phonetic writing, not an ideogram, it is hard not to transpose the syllables, reading *Rarza* = *Larsa* by dissimilation. On p. 55, 2, we should read *zi-gál-kalama-dim-dim-me* = “who creates the life (*i. e.*, living beings) of the land;” *Bêlit-ili* is the *“Ni-zi-gál-dim-dim-me*. P. 61, 25, *bád-uru-Ya-bu-šum* should be read; the city of Yabušum is otherwise known, while *Yabugani* is enigmatic. Would it not be better to read *Ne-eri-gal* (Nergal) instead of *Ne-unu-gal* in p. 61, 29, since the former pronunciation is quite certain? In line 31 *a-a-gu-la-mu* is “my forefather.” On p. 73, 5, etc., *pa-te-si* should be read *isag*, as first shown by Poebel. In general the word *patesi* should drop out of Assyriological and historical works, since there is no evidence that it was ever in phonetic use. Page 81, 10, etc., *sal-e* should be read *geme-e*, as shown by Delitzsch in his *Sumerisches Glossar*; *sal* seems to mean only “wide” and “uterus,” as well as “vulva.” On p. 101, 35, *sagar-ba* = “in its dust”—gold-dust from Africa is referred to, as well-known. Page 113, 4, *KA-DI* may safely be read *Esir*, *Isir*, with Langdon. On p. 149, 2, *si-gar* is “bolt,” not merely “barrier.” Finally, on p. 165, 51, we should certainly correct *IGI-TUR-GÁL* to *IGI-ĜÉ-GÁL*; there is a scribal blunder, as pointed out *AJSL* XXXV, 164, n. 2.

Again we congratulate Mr. Gadd on an excellent piece of work, which unites accuracy and convenience, sound scholarship and clarity.

Let us hope that the slender number of those (even among Assyriologists!) who can read Sumerian texts intelligently will be materially increased by able men who are attracted to these fascinating studies by the solid worth and elegant arrangement of *A Sumerian Reading-Book!*

W. F. ALBRIGHT

# TREASURER'S REPORT FOR YEAR ENDING

December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1924

## *Receipts*

	£ E. mm.
<i>Balance in hand Dec. 31st, 1923</i> . . . . .	320.236
Annual subscriptions for 1923 . . . . .	7.000
Annual subscriptions for 1924 . . . . .	142.075
Annual subscriptions for 1925 . . . . .	13.000
Sale of Journal and Reprints . . . . .	1.450
	<u>Total: £ E. 483.761</u>

## *Expenditure*

	£ E. mm.
Postage . . . . .	7.360
Stationery . . . . .	23.910
Refreshments . . . . .	2.690
Printing of programmes and circulars . . . . .	5.150
Subscription to British School of Archaeology . . . . .	2.050
Offizin W. Drugulin, printing and postage of Journal:	
Vol. III 3, 4 (1923) . . . . .	86.761
Vol. IV 1-2, 3, 4 (1924) . . . . .	159.670
<i>Balance in hand, Dec. 31st, 1923</i> . . . . .	196.170
	<u>Total: £ E. 483.761</u>

(Subject to audit.)

W. F. ALBRIGHT  
(*Treasurer*)

# MOHAMMEDAN SAINTS AND SANCTUARIES IN PALESTINE

T. CANAAN  
(JERUSALEM)

(Continued)

## B. RITES AND PRACTISES

In our study of the different forms and categories of Mohammedan shrines in Palestine we have laid the foundation for our further investigations. Without a thorough knowledge of the former the study of the latter will be difficult and incomplete. I intend in the present chapter to take up the question: What is done in the holy places?

Acts connected with a shrine may be performed in the *maqâm* itself, outside of it, or at a distance from the sanctuary. They comprise simple acts as well as complicated ones. The following classification includes the most important acts performed in a holy place, arranged according to their degree of complexity:

### 1. Religious acts

I. Utterance of simple protective words

II. Repetition of prayers

III. Reverence

IV. Religious service as in a mosque

V. The *barakeh*

2. Placing private property under the protection of the *weli*

3. Tying of rags

4. Healing

5. Making oaths

6. Paying vows

7. Celebration of feasts, *mawâsim*

8. Processions.

Some less important acts will be mentioned under the above headings.

## 1. RELIGIOUS ACTS

## I. Utterance of simple protective words

No pious peasant ever approaches or enters a *maqâm* without first asking the permission of the *welî*. The general expression is *dastûr*<sup>1</sup> (*yâ sîdnâ*<sup>2</sup> 'Abd es-Salâm<sup>3</sup>), "with your permission (O our lord 'A . . . )." It is a common Arabic—especially Mohammedan—custom never to enter a harem without asking permission to enter, or more correctly notifying the *ḥarîm*<sup>4</sup> (women) that a man is coming.<sup>5</sup> *Dastîr qabl mâ tudhul*, "get permission before you enter," used to be a rule enforced on every male servant.<sup>6</sup> It is customary to use the word *dastûr* alone or combined with *ḥaḍîr*, as well as with different appellatives of God.<sup>7</sup> Even when somebody intends to contradict or criticize the statements of another he begins with *dastûr*<sup>8</sup> (*el-mas'alih miš hêk*), "with your permission (that is not the question)."

Much more significant and therefore more frequent is this custom when a person approaches the abode of some supernatural being, as a demon, a spirit, or a saint. Nobody used to approach an

<sup>1</sup> This is a Persian word coming from *dast* دست "rule, order," and *uwr* وُور "owner" (cf. *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* I. 650). The direct meaning of "permission" does not occur in literary Arabic, but in the common language it is so understood.

<sup>2</sup> *Sîdî* means "my master, my lord." In Palestinian Arabic it also means "my grandfather" (*djiddî*).

<sup>3</sup> 'Abd es-Salâm el-Asmar came from Morocco to Palestine, and lived in the village of Ḥîrbet 'Almîṭ, now a ruin. Owing to a conflict between the government and the inhabitants of this village, the former destroyed the houses of the rebels. 'Abd es-Salâm went to 'Anâtâ, bought the site and lived there. His descendants are the peasants of this village. The *šêḥ* had six children, one of whom, Qâsim died without leaving children. The other five were 'Alawî, Ibrâhîm, 'Alî, 'Abdallâh and 'Abd el-Laṭîf. 'Alawî begot Ḥamdân, father of Moḥammed, father of Aḥmad who is still living. To this Aḥmad I owe this story and the chronology. Šêḥ 'Abd es-Salâm belonged to the order of the Rifâ'î.

<sup>4</sup> *Harîm* means also "wife," *ḥarîmî*, "my wife" (as well as "my wives"). Many use *êlî*, which really stands for "my family," in the same way.

<sup>5</sup> Even when a man entered his own house, he used to notify his entrance without fail, as there might be women guests.

<sup>6</sup> This custom prevails more in cities than in the villages. The inhabitants of Hebron, Nâblus and Gaza used to be very strict.

<sup>7</sup> *Yâ sattâr*, "O Concealer;" *yâ ḥâfiẓ*, "O Keeper;" *yâ amîn*, "O Faithful," etc.

<sup>8</sup> The above-mentioned *ḥaḍîr* comes from *ḥaḍḍara* and means "be ready, be on your guard." When rocks are blasted this word is also used.



inhabited cave, spring, or tree, or to draw water from such a spring without asking permission.<sup>1</sup> The irritated *djinn* may otherwise injure the person. For the same reason one should never put out burning coals with water without a direct and loud request for permission:<sup>2</sup> *dastûr hađûr yâ sukkân en-nâr*,<sup>3</sup> "with your permission, take care, O inhabitants of the fire." In other parts the expression is: *yâ ahl el-ard ilnâ fil-'ard*, "O, inhabitants of the earth, we are under your protection."

Cemeteries are the abiding places of the souls of the dead and they were formerly never entered without asking permission.<sup>4</sup> So also holy places are only approached or entered after *dastûr*.<sup>5</sup> This act not only expresses respect for the *welî*, but also reverence. In the case of *djinn* respect and fear are the reasons for asking permission. Through such a behaviour one both gains the favour and the help of the men of God, and avoids the danger which may befall him from the evil spirits.

Not only are such precautions taken in approaching a *maqâm*, but also whenever the name of an important saint is mentioned; one is afraid to trouble a *welî*.<sup>6</sup> The following example will illustrate this custom. When I asked a peasant of 'Anâtâ about *eš-šêh 'Abd es-Salâm*, he told me a story to convince me of the importance and power of this *šêh*. He began: *marrah rikib walad 'alâ qabr eš-šêh 'Abd es-Salâm—dastûr yâ sîdnâ 'Abd es-Salâm . . .*, "Once a boy rode on the tomb of *eš-šêh 'Abd . . .*, with your permission O our lord 'A . . ."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Aberglaube*, p. 8 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A custom wide-spread in Palestine and proving that demons are supposed to abide in fire. For still other proofs see *Aberglaube*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Another sentence is *dastûr hađûr itfarraqû la tihtirqû* "with your permission, take care, disperse, else you will be burned."

<sup>4</sup> This custom is now dying out.

<sup>5</sup> The Kurds say at such occasions: *quddûs şubbûh rabbunâ wa rabb el-malâ'ikah war-rûh*, "Holy and praise to our lord the lord of the angels and the spirit" (heard from Mr. St. H. Stephan).

<sup>6</sup> Saints are always at work praying or helping others; therefore they should never be troubled. Asking permission to call upon them assures their consent.

<sup>7</sup> No sooner was the boy on the tomb, than it began to rise and rise, while the ceiling of the *maqâm* grew higher and higher. The frightened boy promised the *šêh* a present if he brought him down, and at once the tomb began to descend until it was down again. Trembling, the boy got down and hastened to fulfill his promise (related by Mohammed of 'Anâtâ).

As we have seen in this example the name of the saint is added to the word *dastûr*. Sometimes instead of the name itself the expression "O friend of God" is placed after *dastûr*: *dastûr yâ welîy allâh*. Very rarely *dastûr* alone is used. In the case of *nebî Mûsâ* I heard from a woman of Jerusalem the following expression: *dastûr yâbn 'Imrân<sup>1</sup> illî nâruh min ḥdjâruh*, "dastûr, O son of 'Imrân, whose fire comes from his stones."<sup>2</sup> On entering *nebî Şâleḥ*, *dastûr yâ nebî Sâlih<sup>3</sup> yâ râ'î en-nâqah*, "dastûr, O Prophet Şâleḥ, O shepherd of the she-camel,"<sup>4</sup> is used. With 'Alî ibn 'Alêm, *dastûr yâ 'Alî ibn 'Alêm<sup>5</sup> yâ lâdjim el-baḥar ibša'rah*, "dastûr, O 'A. ibn 'A. O thou who bridlest the sea with a hair"<sup>6</sup> is heard.

This custom is not only found among the Mohammedans, but the Christians also use it. St. George enjoys a great reputation in Palestine and it is especially in connection with him that *dastûr* or *es-salâm 'alêh* is used by the Christians.

On rare occasions one who enters the enclosure of a shrine (the *ruâq* or arcade in front of the real *maqâm*) and says *dastûr* may receive from persons sitting there the answer *dastûrak ma'ak*, "you have your own permission," i. e., you can not enter the shrine. Such an answer is given when women are in the sanctuary, and the presence of a man is not allowed. This same expression means just the opposite, "you may enter," when it is said to a man asking permission to enter a house.

Beside the asking permission we meet continually with cases where the *welî* is invoked, in every phase of daily life. No peasant

<sup>1</sup> According to the Koran.

<sup>2</sup> The stones around *Nebî Mûsâ* are black and contain some bitumen, so they burn when put on a fire.

<sup>3</sup> *Nebî Şâleḥ* has several *maqâms*. The above expression is used by the people of the village of *Nebî Şâleḥ*. The sanctuary is situated on the top of a mountain, and encircles his tomb. Under the kitchen there is an olive-press (*badd*) where the soul of the prophet's servant dwells.

<sup>4</sup> See the Koran, *Sûreh VII*, for the story of the she-camel sent by God to the tribe of *Tamûd*.

<sup>5</sup> His sanctuary is situated on the sea-shore north of Jaffa. He is said to be the descendant of 'Omar ibn el-Ḥaṭṭâb. In the neighbourhood of the *maqâm* we see the ruins of 'Arşûf. Common tradition relates that its inhabitants sinned profusely, so that the holy man punished them by throwing a sherd from a broken jar (*qarqûm ibriq*) on the village, thus destroying it (heard from O. S. Bargûṭî).

<sup>6</sup> It is believed that as soon as this hair breaks the sea will flood the country.

will begin any work without asking the help of the Almighty or that of a saint. The usual phrases are: *bism allâh*, "in the name of God;" *bism el-Adrâ*, "in the name of the Virgin;" *yâ nabîy allâh*, "O prophet of God;" *yâ Haḍr el-Aḥḍar*, "O green Haḍr;" *yâ nabî Rubîn*, "O prophet R.," etc. The most common expression among the Mohammedans is the first one. No meal is taken, work begun, food handled, flour kneaded, wheat measured, etc., without the saying of this short prayer. It is believed that the *djinn* will take possession of everything upon which the name of God has not been uttered.<sup>1</sup> According to et-Tarmaḍî the Prophet ordered: *idâ akala aḥadukum falyadkur allâh*, "when one of you eats he must mention (remember) God."<sup>2</sup> Such a precaution will not only assure a blessing but will also banish all demons, which are always ready to hurt human beings.

Whenever a person passes a shrine, and even if he is some distance from it, and meets with a difficulty or inconvenience, he begs the assistance of that saint, *biyñhâh*<sup>3</sup> or *bistadjîr fîh*, "he urges him by his honour." Usually the nearest *welî* is called upon for help. Many prefer their local ones, whose power they have tested. All believe in the Prophets Abraham (*Ḥalîl allâh*<sup>4</sup>), Moses (*Kalîm allâh*<sup>5</sup>), David (*Nabîy allâh*<sup>6</sup>), Mohammed (*Rasûl allâh*<sup>7</sup>) and Jesus, *Îsâ* (*Rûḥ allâh*<sup>8</sup>). The usual expressions are: *dahîl*<sup>9</sup> *'alêk yâ rasûl allâh*, "I implore you, O apostle of God;" *anâ ṭanîb 'alêkî*<sup>10</sup> *yâ sittî yâ Badriyeh*, "I am your neighbour,<sup>11</sup> O my lady, O Badriyeh."

<sup>1</sup> L. Einsler, *Mosaik*, p. 2 ff.; *Aberglanbe*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Eš-šêḥ 'Abd el-Madjîd 'Alî, *at-Tuḥfatu l-Mardîyah fil-Aḥbâr el-Qudsîyah*, etc., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The *h* is to be pronounced.

<sup>4</sup> *Ḥalîl* = "friend," the surname of Abraham.

<sup>5</sup> *Kalîm* = Interlocutor, the surname of Moses.

<sup>6</sup> *Nabîy* = Prophet, the surname of David.

<sup>7</sup> *Rasûl* = Apostle, the surname of Mohammed.

<sup>8</sup> *Rûḥ* = Spirit, the surname of Christ. This name is based on *Sûreh XXI*, where we read: "And remember her (i. e. the Virgin Mary) who preserved her virginity, and into whom we breathed of our spirit."

<sup>9</sup> *Dahîl 'alêk*, *dahîl ḥarîmak*, *dahîl 'arḍak* and *dahîlak* are expressions used when one beseeches another for help.

<sup>10</sup> *Ṭunub* is "tent rope, tent peg;" *ṭanîbî*, "my neighbour whose tentropes are near mine" (*Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* II, 1297; *JPOS* II, 43); *ṭanîb 'alêk*, "I beseech you to accept me as your neighbour (and thus to give me your help)."

<sup>11</sup> A man is obliged according to Arabic rules to help, protect and safeguard his neighbour; *ed-djâr lad-djâr u-law djâr*, "a neighbour is (responsible) for his neighbour, even if he acts wrongly toward him."

Often the simple invocation *yâ sultân Ibrâhîm (iẓfî ibnî)*, "O sultân Ib. (cure my son);" *yâ Abû l-anbiâ*, "O father of the Prophets (i. e. Abraham)" are used. Every *fellâh* believes firmly that the saint will respond at once to a call for help. In the Lebanon I have heard the following expression used by a muleteer,<sup>1</sup> whose animal had fallen down under its load: *yâ mâr Elyâs ilak nuṣṣuh walâ ihuṣṣuh*,<sup>2</sup> "O St. Elias, you will get the half of it—if only it is not injured."<sup>3</sup>

I shall cite some cases where their help is implored to illustrate this belief. A camel belonging to a poor camel-driver (*djammâl*) slips over a rock and there is danger of fracture of a leg and the loss of the precious camel.<sup>4</sup> An ass loaded with a heavy flour sack falls under its load.<sup>5</sup> A traveller loses his path during the night and all his efforts to find the right direction are futile. The following story illustrates this point. Dr. Djâd from Haifâ was invited to attend the wedding of a friend in Ya'bad. While there he had an attack of fever. As a coachman who was leaving for Haifâ refused to take him along, he begged the *ṣalâbeli* Mêsar<sup>6</sup> to punish the coachman, whose wheel was broken on the way. This physician also implored the same saint to bring back his brother, who was deported by the Turks, and the brother was brought back in a miraculous way.

Not only in simple inconveniences but in great difficulties the assistance of the saints is asked for. In examining vows we shall

<sup>1</sup> Muleteers (also coachmen, porters and boatmen) are notoriously profane, therefore the Arabic proverb *mitl el-mkârî mâ bigudkur allâh illâ taht il-himl*, "like the muleteer, he does not call on God, except when in difficulty (under a load)."

<sup>2</sup> Pronounce the *h* in *nuṣṣuh* and *ihuṣṣuh*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ihuṣṣuh* was explained to me as "injured;" I tried to find out whether it is not *ihuṣṣh*, "become less," but it was always pronounced with a clear *ṣ*.

<sup>4</sup> A camel used to be and is still sometimes (but much more rarely than before) the only support of the family. Such an animal often formed the only capital of a peasant.

<sup>5</sup> A man who drives donkeys carrying wheat to a mill (or flour from it) is called *tarrâs*. In classical Arabic this meaning is not known (see *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ*). Hava gives it the meaning "Hirer of donkeys," and says that it is "only used in Egypt." In Jerusalem it has the above-mentioned meaning. In the district of Benî Zêd the root means "to load heavily": *djamal mitris*, "a very heavily loaded camel;" *fulân atras baghluh*, "N. loaded his mule very heavily."

<sup>6</sup> Mêsarah bin Masrûq el-'Absî. His shrine, situated on the top of a mountain and near a ruin, lies between Djiffîn and Bâqah. (O. S. B.)



see that they are really nothing but invocations combined with promises. I will relate here another story<sup>1</sup> to illustrate more fully the point in question. The Bedouins of the Tayâhâ tribe attacked Bêt Djâlâ one night. The frightened inhabitants, who were much less in number than the Bedouins, besought Mâr Inqûlâ (*istandjadû*) to help them. Suddenly the Bedouins began to run in disorder, shouting: *a'ûdu bil-lâh min balad šdjârâ turşuk lıdjâr*, "I fly for refuge to God from a village whose trees throw stones." The peasants of the village assembled in the church of this saint to thank him for having delivered them so wonderfully from their fierce enemies. They observed, to their great surprise, that the *qûneh* was dripping sweat,<sup>2</sup> which was another sign of his power.<sup>3</sup>

## II. Repetition of prayers

In entering a *maqâm* a pious *fellâh* will recite the *fâtihah* or first *sûreh* of the Qoran. The recitation of this prayer is believed to be followed by the blessing of the saint and God. Not only when a simple peasant enters the shrine, but every time he passes beside a *maqâm*—especially during night time—he recites this prayer.

When a pilgrim is on the way to visit a prophet's shrine, and when he reaches a high place from which the sanctuary is visible, he stands still and says *aşhadu anna lâ ilâhan illâ-llâh*, "I witness that there is no God beside God." The same is done very often when a traveller—without intending to visit a shrine—beholds the *maqâm* from afar. In both cases the passer-by lifts up his hands and passes them down his face (*et-tabarruk*<sup>4</sup>). In the first case several stones may be thrown in a heap, which is called *maşhad*.<sup>5</sup>

In the case of a prophet the visitor says *as-şalâtu wassalâmu 'alêka yâ nabîy allâh*, "prayer and peace be upon you, O prophet of God." Such a prayer is never used for a common *welî*. A pilgrim

<sup>1</sup> Heard from different people of this village.

<sup>2</sup> Other instances where the picture of a saint shows a miraculous sign will be discussed elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Since this time Mâr Inqûlâ is regarded as the protector of the village.

<sup>4</sup> El-Kawâkibî thinks (in *Tubâi'u l-Istibdâd*) that this performance is a vestige of the Christian custom of "crossing."

<sup>5</sup> I have never heard the expressions *karkûr* and *rakûbeh* (or *raqûbeh*?) mentioned by Doutté in *Magie et Religion*, p. 420 ff. in connection with heaps of stones.



says in visiting Aḥmad er-Rfâ'î:<sup>1</sup> *yâ Aḥmad yâ Rfâ'î ihmînâ min kull šî sâ'î*, "O Aḥmad, O R., protect us from every creeping (following) thing (reptiles)."<sup>2</sup>

Prayers said in a shrine are generally made for the benefit of the saint; it is supposed that God will reckon them to the credit of the *welî*. This is why we hear in some places: *igra l-fâtîḥah 'an rūḥ eš-šêḥ . . . (igra l-fâtîḥah laš-šêḥ . . .)*, "Recite the *fâtîḥah* for the soul of the *šêḥ* . . . (recite the *f.* for the *šêḥ* . . .)."

Many visitors perpetuate their names by writing some verse of the Qorân on the wall of the *maqâm*, or on the cenotaph. As a typical sentence we may quote: *audâtu fî hâda l-maqâm šihâdatî anna lâ ilâhan illa-llâh*, "I entrust to this *maqâm* my confession (witness), that there is no God but *Allâh*." After finishing his visit the pilgrim often makes the request *itqabbal zyârtî yâ . . .*, "accept my visit, O . . ."<sup>3</sup>

### III. Reverence

The reverence shown in connection with holy places is general and manifests itself in different ways. It is at present not nearly so strictly observed as it used to be. A pious peasant will not enter the shrine of any important *welî* without taking off his shoes.<sup>4</sup> These he either leaves outside or carries with him.<sup>5</sup> In some cases (*eš-šêḥ et-Tôri*, *eš-šêḥ 'Abd es-Salâm*, etc.) I have not been allowed to enter except barefoot, while in most of them (*eš-šêḥ 'Abdallah in Qubêbeh*, *eš-šêḥ Salmân el-Fârsî on the Mount of Olives*, *Ḥasan er-Râ'î near Nebî Mûsâ*, *eš-šêḥ Ḥamad in Kolônia*, etc.) no objections at all were made.

<sup>1</sup> Aḥmad er-Rfâ'î was renowned for curing patients bitten by serpents. His followers are still serpent-charmers.

<sup>2</sup> Aḥmad er-Rfâ'î was a *qutub*. His shrine in Palestine is in Benî Zêd, about one hour to the east of Dêr Ghassâneh. It is believed that under the *maqâm* there is a *ghâr* (cave) in which lies his tomb.

<sup>3</sup> Christians write *udkur yâ rabb 'abdak . . .*, "remember, O Lord, your servant . . ."

<sup>4</sup> As the shoes are made unclean by walking on the street, which is full of impurities (including human and animal excretions), they have to be taken off.

<sup>5</sup> In the case of the Omar Mosque, el-Aqşâ, Nebî Mûsâ and other shrines, all those who do not desire to take off their shoes put on slippers or sandals, in which they may visit the shrines.

Many will not enter a shrine except in a ritually clean condition. For this reason many peasants would not enter with me into the *maqâm*, but waited outside. Even when I enquired about one thing or another, they answered without stepping in.<sup>1</sup>

These customs of the modern Palestinian remind us of olden times, when the Lord called unto Moses out of the midst of the Burning Bush: "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."<sup>2</sup> The ancient Hebrew worshippers were also not allowed to approach the sanctuary without first purifying themselves, for only the ceremonially clean were accepted.<sup>3</sup>

No unclean woman<sup>4</sup> ever approaches or enters a shrine, touches a holy tree, draws water out of a sacred well or comes near a consecrated spring. There is nothing which will irritate a man of God as much as such an imprudent act.<sup>5</sup> In the midst of the vineyards of Bêtûniâ is the source of Hirbet Nûtâ, which is guarded by the soul of *eš-šêh* Šâleḥ. From time to time the water gets scanty and may even stop flowing. This is always thought to result when an unclean woman approaches the opening. Once the water stopped flowing, and as the inhabitants of Bêtûniâ searched in vain for the impure woman, a sheep was offered to *eš-šêh* Šâleḥ, the source was well cleared out, and the water flowed again, even more abundantly than before.<sup>6</sup> Nor are springs inhabited by demons to be approached by any menstruating women, or a woman with a bloody issue. The spring of Djifnâ, inhabited by a "bride," is an

<sup>1</sup> Once a person ascended the roof of the shrine of *eš-šêh* Abû Ismâ'il (Bêt Likîâ) without taking off his shoes. This impious act irritated the man of God so much that he punished the evildoer with paralysis, which did not disappear until the *welî* was reconciled by the offering of two sheep.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 3 5.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 35 2; Ex. 19 10; 1 Sam. 16 5.

<sup>4</sup> It used to be believed by the Arabs that when Eve plucked the fruit of the tree, it bled. As a punishment for her disobedience the female race must bleed every month (*Dâiratu l-Ma'ârif*, vol. I, p. 48).

<sup>5</sup> *Uns ed-Djalîl*, vol. I, p. 37, tells us that when the inhabitants of Beersheba drove the patriarch Abraham away, their only well dried up. Thus they were obliged to go and beg the man of God to help them. He gave them some of his sheep and said: "As soon as these animals approach the well, the water will rise to the brim and will remain so. But as soon as an unclean woman comes near to the water it will dry up for ever."

<sup>6</sup> See Canaan, *JPOS* II. 159 and *Aberglaube*, p. 37.

example.<sup>1</sup> Even the spirits of the dead abhor women who walk through a cemetery while they are in such a state.<sup>2</sup> It is believed in Silwân that these spirits wash her footprints at once to clean their abode, and give the dirty water to the spirits of dead relatives to drink as a punishment.<sup>3</sup>

There are some Christian sanctuaries which are never entered by women, as in the case of some Greek monasteries like Mâr Sâbâ and the room in the St. George convent where the holy stone is kept.<sup>4</sup>

This custom is again not new, for we read in the Bible that no unclean woman could enter or approach the house of God. Even "whosoever toucheth her or toucheth anything that she sat upon shall be unclean" (Lev. 15 19, etc.).

Every man who has not cleansed himself ritually<sup>5</sup> after intercourse with a woman must not enter a *maqâm*, for he is unclean. Such an unclean person is *muhḍit* or *djînb*. The tomb of *en-nabî Nûn*<sup>6</sup> has a *ṭâqah* in its western side. No unclean person—man or woman—dares put his hand in this *ṭâqah*, i. e., he can not light the lamps, put oil in them or burn incense. If such a person ventures on such an act, he will be bitten by the serpent which guards the place.<sup>7</sup>

No women of the Greek Orthodox church will enter the church while she is in the state of impurity. Even after childbirth she must wait forty days and must take a bath before she goes to the house of God; cf. Lev. 12 2 ff.

<sup>1</sup> If such a thing happens the water dries up and a holy man (priest or a *ṣêḥ*) must go to the drying spring to repeat prayers and burn incense, and thus reconcile the *djinnîyeh*, or force her to let the water flow (*JPOS* II, 161).

<sup>2</sup> While a sanctuary is never entered by an unclean woman, we find that this rule is not so strict in the case of holy trees.

<sup>3</sup> While a woman was performing her prayers in Haram el-Ḥalîl she was overtaken by her period (*itnaddjasat* "she became impure"). As she did not hurry to get out of the holy place, the dome of the sanctuary was dyed with blood. This drew the attention of all present, who understanding the sign, quickly drove out the woman. At once the red colour disappeared from the dome.

<sup>4</sup> Already described above, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Es-Sitt Sukeinah (near Tiberias) punishes severely every *muhḍit* who enters her shrine.

<sup>6</sup> En-nabî Nûn is situated on the top of a hill near Kafl Ḥâris.

<sup>7</sup> Heard from O. S. el-Barghûṭî.

This is not the place to discuss the exact effects—good and evil—which are supposed to be caused by a menstruous woman.<sup>1</sup>

Those who enter an important shrine remain silent, devout and humble. When someone talks the voice is kept low; no smoking, laughing or any other irreverent action is allowed.

Before proceeding I must emphasize the fact that reverence as above described is paid regularly only to the prophets and the important *awliâ*. It is practised much less in the case of the other shrines. When visiting the *djâmi* el-Arbîn in 'Êsâwiyeh I found a tax-gatherer of Jerusalem sleeping, eating and transacting his business in the holy place. We were offered coffee which was brewed in this place, and all smoked their cigarettes completely unmolested.

The holy men are exceedingly irritated when anybody commits adultery while in or in the neighbourhood of the shrine. It is believed that the whole mountain on which the shrine of Nebi Mûsâ is built, shakes severely when such an impious act is performed.

No animals are ever allowed to enter a shrine. Some peasants object most vigorously to fastening a horse in the immediate neighbourhood of a *maqâm*. This last custom, however, is vanishing slowly. Many stories are told to illustrate how *awliâ* have punished intruding animals with death. The following is an example:<sup>2</sup> Some inhabitants of 'Êsâwiyeh, while going to their daily work in the fields, one day, found a dead jackal with an oil lamp in his mouth. He lay directly in front of the shrine of *es-šêh* 'Anbar. This showed clearly that the beast had entered the shrine and carried away the oil-lamp, for which it was punished at once. Sometimes the saints are forbearing and give animals sufficient time to stop profaning the sanctuary. But at last, especially when human beings begin to doubt their power, they take revenge. 'Ên Qînâ is inhabited by the *welî*

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<sup>1</sup> Some effects have been mentioned in *Aberglaube*, p. 36 ff. Others are: If a menstruating woman walks through a green field, the grass will wither. Some foods should not be prepared by a woman in this state, since they may spoil milk, for example, will sour. Any one who sleeps with a menstruous woman will become a leper.

<sup>2</sup> Other stories are: Abû Šâlhiyeh (Bêt 'Anân) kills every gazelle which eats leaves of his olive trees. Every animal which climbs on the building of *es-šêh* Yâsîn falls down dead. Whenever a herd of goats or sheep approaches el-Qubbeh (to the east of Dêr Djrîr) the *şullâh* drive them away. See also Jaussen, p. 308.



Abûl-Ênên. The peasants used to light in his honour, every Thursday night, an oil lamp, the oil of which was regularly drunk by jackals. This irritated the owner of the ground just around the spring (Moḥammed 'Abdallah), so much, that he lighted an oil lamp for him with the words: "If you can not protect your property, we shall never light your lamp again." The next morning the jackal was found dead, with the oil lamp in his mouth. This of course proved the power of the *welî* conclusively.

A woman used to place a *țôz* (pronounced really *țôs*), bowl of butter, under the protection of the *welî* Abû Ndjêm. The next day she observed that a part of it was stolen. Imploring the saint to paralyze the hand of the thief, she put down another *țôz*, and the next day she found a jackal (*wâwî*) with a paralyzed foreleg still dipped in the bowl. Abû Ndjêm is situated on the top of a hill one hour south of Artâs. He was the *naddjâb* of the prophet. *Naddjâb* means "one who goes before the prophet (or the *șêḥ* of a *țariqah*) in procession to the next village and announces his coming with this followers." *Eș-șêḥ* 'Abêd (near Șațâf) is said to kill any goat or sheep which enters his cave. There are exceptions, where animals are intentionally allowed to enter the door of the shrine, but no further. These cases will be mentioned later.

The shrine and its surroundings are supposed always to be kept clean. But this is rarely actually the case. We should, however, specify what the peasants understand by cleanliness. *Nadjâseh* means "whatever is ritually unclean," as human and (less) animal excretions,<sup>2</sup> dead bodies, unclean food and drink.<sup>3</sup> *Et-tadjmîr*, the cleaning of the penis on the walls after urination, is strictly forbidden. In this sense the holy places are kept more or less clean, but not in the sanitary meaning of cleanliness, for quantities of rubbish are found in and around some such places Banât eș-șêḥ Șalâḥ and el-'Umari

<sup>1</sup> Heard from Miss Baldensberger.

<sup>2</sup> Urine, faecal matter, pus, menstrual blood, expectoration, etc. A Turkish officer evacuated once under the tree of *eș-șêḥ* Abû Riș (Bêt 'Anân). The punishment followed immediately, the officer being beaten very severely by a branch of the holy terebinth. A stranger who spent the night in *djâmi* Abû l-Ôn (Biddû) broke wind during his sleep. The irritated *welî* threw him at once outside the holy place.

<sup>3</sup> Pork and all alcoholic drinks.



(Jericho)<sup>1</sup> are a striking example of the fact that supposed "holy places" may be kept in a horribly dirty condition.

Most of the *welîs* are rarely swept or cleaned. Old, ragged carpets, torn mattresses, rusty tins (for burning oil), empty match-boxes, broken jars and bottles are found scattered irregularly about in many shrines.

Everything belonging to a shrine is sacred to the spirit of that saint who inhabits the place, and will never be taken or removed, except on special occasions, where such objects (as oil, stones, leaves of trees, etc.) are used as a *barakeh*, or as medicine. In all other cases the saint severely punishes the evil-doer for not respecting him. Often the *fellâhin* will punish such a person, in order to avert the wrath of the *welî* from their village. The following story excellently illustrates this point.<sup>2</sup> A peasant from Djêdeh, deserting his wife and children, went to Haurân and became a Moslem. Having some little education, he was soon appointed *ḥatîb* "scribe" of the village. Indeed he obtained a position of great influence, and in course of time all his ideas were acquiesced in by the people without a murmur. Being now, as he thought, secure in his authority, he proceeded one night to cut down a thorn tree, which grew in the enclosure of a *welî* of that village. Great was the consternation when the dawn revealed the *welî*'s tree laid prostrate. It was discovered that the *ḥatîb* had cut it down. Only his death might expiate the crime, and deliver the village from impending calamity. The crowd, armed, rushed around the now trembling *ḥatîb*, and attacking him furiously on all sides, they literally beat him to death.<sup>3</sup>

Nothing irritates these holy persons as much as destroying their *maqâms*, opening their tombs, or cutting down their trees. They will surely and severely punish the evil-doers.<sup>4</sup> The Bedouins living around Gaza and many of the inhabitants of this city believe that the Turks lost the battle of Gaza only because they had not respected this fundamental rule, but had levelled the sanctuary of eš-

<sup>1</sup> These two shrines have already been described.

<sup>2</sup> This story is taken from James Neil, *Palestine Life*, pp. 64ff.

<sup>3</sup> How much does the above story resemble the Biblical narrative about Gideon, Judges 4 25-32.

<sup>4</sup> Goldziher, *Moh. Studien* II, 317.

*šēh* Nûrân,<sup>1</sup> and cut down a tree of *eš-šēh* Abû Hurêrî.<sup>2</sup> F. A., an influential person of Jerusalem, asked some peasants of Šarâfât to cut off a dying branch of the holy oak tree of el-Badrîyeh which grew in his grounds. All refused to do such an infamous act and advised him strongly not to touch the tree. He hired a Christian from Jerusalem who sawed down the branch. But behold the very next day F. A. fell sick with an acute attack of articular rheumatism. The peasants knew that this was the expected punishment of el-Badrîyeh.<sup>3</sup>

#### IV. Religious services in a shrine as in a mosque

In some shrines daily prayers are performed, i. e., they serve as a mosque. All such shrines have a *milrâb*, and they are located in the villages or not far from them. The inhabitants of villages near Jerusalem do not have many such *djawâmi'* owing to the fact that the peasants come to the city on Friday<sup>4</sup> to perform the noon prayers (*salât ed-djum'ah*) in the Mosque of Omar. In villages at a distance from Jerusalem such *djawâmi'* are common. These mosques are visited especially in *lêlat ed-djum'ah* and on Friday. In some *lêlat et-tên*<sup>5</sup> also enjoys this honour. The same may be said of the feast days. The visits in the *mawâsim* will be described below.

In this connection I wish to observe that some Christian churches are respected and visited by the Mohammedans. Churches dedicated to St. George—especially in the village el-Haḍer near Bethlehem—frequently enjoy this privilege. Sitti Maryam comes next. The Chapel of the Ascension, the Church of the Nativity, the Milk Grotto and Mâr Elyâs<sup>6</sup> come after. The last two enjoy only the respect of the neighbouring Mohammedan villages.<sup>7</sup> According to Mudjîr

<sup>1</sup> Between Šallâleh and Tell eš-Šerî'ah.

<sup>2</sup> On the road Beersheba-Gaza. The same causes are given in connection with *eš-šēh* Šâleḥ (er-Râm), en-nabî Nûn, etc.

<sup>3</sup> This story was told me by F. A. himself.

<sup>4</sup> Many come on this day to attend the cattle market (*sûq ed-djum'ah*) which is held once a week on this day.

<sup>5</sup> Kahle, *PJ* VII, pp. 99ff.

<sup>6</sup> Kahle mentions some of these places, *PJ* VII, 100.

<sup>7</sup> It is to be noted that some *djawâmi'*—like el-'Uzêrât—serve only for the religious acts of women.

ed-Din it is not advisable to perform any prayer in the Church of St. Mary, as it is built in *wâdî* Djhannam (the valley of hell).<sup>1</sup>

### V. The *barakeh*

The peasant does not visit a shrine only to fulfil a vow, to make an oath or to be cured from a disease, but he goes very often to these places to get a "blessing." *Barakeh*<sup>2</sup> means even more than a simple blessing; it denotes, as Kahle says,<sup>3</sup> a benevolent power which radiates from the holy place to every one who comes in contact with it. In order to get such a blessing, the visitor touches the tomb, its coverings, the rosary, etc., and then passes his hands over his face and down his body, thus distributing the blessing transmitted through his hands to the whole body.<sup>4</sup>

Others will kiss one of these objects, or even take a part of the *stârah* and wrap a part of their body with it. From the oil of the lamps, which may be used to rub the hands and the face, one receives a more lasting *barakeh*. Water from sacred cisterns may be drunk as a blessing, and at the same time the devout peasant believes that it has an especially good effect on the body. Many a *hadj* brings back with him one or more bottles filled with water from Zamzam, and distributes small quantities of it to his friends. I have also been honoured with such water.

Many visitors will take some souvenir of the shrine as a *barakeh*. One will carry it on his body or hang it in his house, believing that it will bring fortune. The most important object belonging to this category is *en-ndjâsah*, "the pear,"<sup>5</sup> said to be made of earth of the mosque el-Ka'beh, dipped in the blood of the sacrifices, and has the shape of a pear.<sup>6</sup> Nearly all pilgrims bring several and distribute them to their friends, who hang them in their houses.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See II, 411.

<sup>2</sup> I do not think that *barakeh* means the contrary of the evil eye, as Doutté states in *Magie*, p. 440.

<sup>3</sup> *PJ* VII, pp. 104 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The same custom exists in some Eastern Churches after the offertory (Stephan).

<sup>5</sup> Canaan, *Aberglaube*, p. 86.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Stephan calls my attention to the fact that such earth *barakeh* are sold from the shrines of Karbelâ, Nadjaf and Kadimên.

<sup>7</sup> The same belief exists among Christians, who take with them Jordan water, leaves of the olive trees of Gethsemane or keep the pictures which have been sanctified by their being placed on the Holy Sepulchre or in the church of the Nativity.

As all above-mentioned examples have shown, it is not only the unseen souls of the holy men which possess this power, but every thing which belongs to the *maqâm*—the abiding place of the soul—has it and is able to radiate it to human beings.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless a part of the body of the saint himself,<sup>2</sup> or an object connected directly with his life-history possesses more of this miraculous virtue. Thus the hairs from the beard of the Prophet<sup>3</sup> which are kept in the Omar mosque, are visited every year on the 27th of Ramaḍân.<sup>4</sup> A piece of the "true cross"<sup>5</sup> of Christ is carried by many Christians for the same reason.

Besides these ways of deriving a blessing from a *welî*, many peasants try to get this profit by visiting different important shrines. Thus many of the pilgrims to Nebî Mûsâ, after the *môsam* is over, pay visits to Haram el-Ḥalîl, Nebî Samw'îl, Nebî Şâleḥ, etc. Many a pilgrim makes his way back over Palestine and Egypt merely to obtain *et-tabarruk* from the different *awliyâ*. A repentant sinner believes that through such visits and prayers he will receive a blessing which will take off all his burdens.<sup>6</sup> The soul of the saint, which is pleased with such actions, is always ready to help.<sup>7</sup>

In every important shrine, the visitor is guided by the so-called *huddâm el-maqâm*, who are attached to the different holy places, and advise him what prayer is to be said in each spot. But there are now also small guide-books for the holy places of Jerusalem and Hebron. The best known is *al-murşid li-z-zâir wad-dalîl fi manâsik wâ zyârât amâkin el-Quds wal-Ḥalîl*,<sup>8</sup> a larger one than that mentioned

<sup>1</sup> This sympathetic power is known in sorcery (*es-sihr*) as "contact magic," and we shall often meet with it in our discussions. See also Doutté, *Magie*, pp. 439 ff., and Canaan, *Aberglaube*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Doutté, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Ḥâlid ibn el-Walid is said to have carried a hair of the Prophet as a *barakeh*.

<sup>4</sup> On this day it is believed that sea water becomes sweet, 'Abd el-Madjid Ali in *at-Tuhfatu l-Mardîyah*, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Also called *'udet ed-dhîreh*.

<sup>6</sup> Goldziher, *Moham. Studien* II, 309.

<sup>7</sup> The same idea prevailed in the Old and New Testament. Every one who touched something holy received a blessing: 2 Kings 2 8, 14; 2 Kings 13 21; Math. 9 20-21, 14 36; Mark. 5 25-29; Luke 6 19, 8 43.

<sup>8</sup> By *el-ḥadj* Muṣṭafâ el-Anṣârî.



by Kahle (*manâsik el-Quds eş-Šarîf*<sup>1</sup>). These guide-books<sup>2</sup> state exactly what *sûreh* and what prayer is to be said in every holy place.

The *šiyûh* returning with their adherents from *mawâsim* of Nebî Mûsâ, Nebî Rûbin, Nebî Şâleḥ, etc., to their villages try to visit as many of the local shrines which they may pass on their way as they can. If any *welî* lies at a distance from the road the procession stops, the *saiyârah* plays and the *šêḥ* recites the *fâtîhah*.

The *barakeh* is not only derived from dead saints, but living holy *šêḥs* may also radiate it. *Eš-šêḥ* Abû Ḥalâwî had during his lifetime wide renown in this respect. People kiss the hand, touch the garments, eat some of the *šêḥ's* food, or do some similar action to get this blessing. The following story illustrates the idea:<sup>3</sup> A. the husband of Imm F. was absent in Constantinople. His wife, having received no news from him, went with her daughter, who was eight years old, to *eš-šêḥ* Abû Ḥalawî. Before entering his room, they heard him calling, "Welcome thou daughter of *el-qutub*, the descendant of el-Ghôṣ." They were astonished that he had recognized them before they entered. Seating Imm F. at his side, he took some bread and sugar from his waist-coat pocket<sup>4</sup> and offered them to her, and she ate them as a *barakeh*. Abû Ḥalawî proceeded at once to tell following story: "While we were journeying on the sea, we lost our way and reached an unknown and uninhabited island. During the night the storm drove our boat ashore. In vain did we labour to get the ship afloat. While all were mourning about our desperate condition your ancestor *qutb* el-Ghôṣ appeared. He floated the ship, showed us the direction of our journey, assured us of a safe arrival, and disappeared as miraculously as he appeared. This all happened last Wednesday." Several days later A. arrived. He told them how *qutb* el-Ghôṣ had saved their life. He, believing now in the power of the *šêḥ*<sup>5</sup>, visited him for *et-tabarruk*.

<sup>1</sup> By Yûsif Dîâ ed-Dîn ed-Danaf el-Anşârî.

<sup>2</sup> *Dalîl el-Haram eş-Šarîf* which forms a part of the appeal of the Supreme Mohammedan Court of Palestine for all the Mohammedan world to help in repairing the Aqşâ Mosque (Jerusalem), contains a very short and incomplete guide to the holy places of the Omar Mosque.

<sup>3</sup> The story was told me by Imm F. herself, and was repeated by her daughter Imm. R.

<sup>4</sup> The Arabic word is *'ibb*.

<sup>5</sup> The servants of this holy *šêḥ* are of the family of es-Su'un.



I shall not describe in this chapter the healing powers of the saints, which is attributed by some<sup>1</sup> to their *barakeh*, but which, as I shall show, is due to other powers.

## 2. PLACING PRIVATE PROPERTY UNDER THE PROTECTION OF A *WELÎ*

Many of the saints are situated out in the fields far from villages. Since the peasant's work is mostly in the fields, cultivating his land, reaping his harvest, quarrying stones, gathering thorns to burn lime, etc., he is under the protection of these holy men. He may himself need their help especially when he has to leave some of his property in the fields. In such a case he puts all that he cannot carry home under their guard, being absolutely sure that nobody will dare to touch them. The saints are very particular in this respect, severely punishing anyone who steals any of their property or what is put under their care. Different stories are related to demonstrate this. The *muhtâr* of Šu'fât told me the following incident which happened to him during his childhood. Some inhabitants of the village had spread their olives on the roof of the shrine of *es-sultân* Ibrâhîm el-'Adhamî, in order to make them ripen quickly in the heat of the sun. He climbed up during the night and filled his pockets and bosom (*'ibb*) with olives. The saint did not interfere the first and the second time, but when the boy climbed up the third time, an old and reverend man, clad in white, with a white beard and a spear in his hand, appeared to him and said: "By God, I shall cut your life short and cripple you, if you dare steal another time." The frightened boy answered: *wallâh tubt yâ šêh*, "By God, I repent, O *šêh*." Another story illustrates the point in a different way. Once some thieves broke into the *šireh* (enclosure of cattle) of the neighbours of *eš-šêh* Zakarî and stole the cattle. Scarcely had they gone a few meters from the place, when the *welî* struck them with blindness. Not seeing their way, and recognizing the severe punishment inflicted upon them by this man of God, they restored the cows to their place. At once their sight returned and they escaped further punishment by running away.

<sup>1</sup> Kahle and Doutté.

The objects which are deposited are various. In *eš-šēh* 'Abdallāh (Šūfāt), *eš*-'Ubêd (Dêr Yâsin) and *eš*. Ramađân I saw large heaps of thorns.<sup>1</sup> In the cave of *eš-šēh* 'Isâ (Bêt Lîqiâ) and in the *maqâm* of *eš-šēh* Aḥmad eṭ-Taiyâr (Qaṣṭal) straw (*tibn*) was stored, when I visited them. I found three *laban* (sour milk) pitchers placed in front of the cave of Rdjâl Abû Tūḥ (Bêt Lîqiâ). A peasant of ed-Djib deposited his lime in Djâmi' el-Arb'în. In *eš-šēh* Ḥamid, of the same village, two donkey loads of pottery were placed under the protection of the saint. In *eš-šēh* Aḥmad (Ḥirbet Qaryet S'ideh) I saw cultivating implements. At *eš-šēh* 'Abdallah es-Sidrî (Ḥirbet es-Sidd) the Bedouin desposit part of their household stuff. But not only that which is deposited in the actual holy area is guarded by these holy men of God; even the property of the neighbours of a sanctuary is protected, as is clearly seen from the last related story.

The above description and examples show clearly how strictly the *awliâ* keep the old rules of the Arabs which are still practised by the inhabitants of Palestine.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. TYING OF RAGS

Tying rags to holy objects is a very old custom which is still to be found all over the Orient. Rags are fastened on trees, on the iron bars of windows of sanctuaries, on the door-handles, on the *mihdjân*, as well as on the *râsiyeh* of the tomb. The *mihdjân*<sup>3</sup> is the stick (with a curved handle) of the *welî*. The tying of rags on the stick and the tomb are much more rarely met with than the others. These visiting cards are sometimes so numerous that every inch of the iron bars of the windows, and every twig of a sacred tree which can easily be reached are filled with them.

They are generally fastened by visitors with one of the following intentions:

1. As a sign of having visited the *maqâm* and fulfilled the religious duties.
2. The piece of rag acts as a reminder to the *welî* not to forget the visitor and his wishes.

<sup>1</sup> Gathered by the women and stored as winter fuel.

<sup>2</sup> See also Goldziher, *Moh. Studien* II, 301.

<sup>3</sup> See *Muḥit el-Muḥit* I, 353.

3. Very often a sick person tears a small piece from his clothes and ties it with the words "I have thrown my burden (i. e. "my sickness") on thee, O man of God."<sup>1</sup> It is firmly believed that the saint will banish the disease.<sup>2</sup> In Bêt Ūniâ the relatives of a person suffering from fever put two baskets of stones on a certain tree, believing that the disease will soon disappear.<sup>3</sup>

The fundamental principle at the base of these three ideas is what we call "contact magic." That is to say every thing which has been in contact with somebody or has belonged to him will never completely lose its relation to this person. Thus these pieces of cloth always keep their connection with the person from whom they came. They represent him, and anything done to them will happen to their owner. They represent the visitor, reminding the holy man of the visit performed, imploring help and begging for cure. Through their direct contact for a long period with the holy place they get some of the power of the *welî*, which is transmitted to the person from whom they come and to the one who unfastens and carries them. This superstitious belief is well established in Palestinian folklore and we shall have occasion again to speak about it.

In the sanctuary of el-Manşûrî ('Awartah) I saw five pieces of cloth of the size of large handkerchiefs hanging down from vines and mulberry trees there. Two of them were green, one red, one bluish and the fifth yellowish. I was told that they were *sitâr* (pl. of *sitreh*) or "coverings" of the tomb. It was argued that, as it is impossible for a man to vow a real cover for the huge tomb ( $440 \times 235$  cm.) these small pieces were promised. The prophet is satisfied and accepts them as though they were real large coverings.<sup>4</sup>

The same idea is expressed by placing small or large stones on the grave of a saint or on a holy tree. This custom is much less common than binding rags. I have seen stones on the tomb of Ḥasan er-Râî, *eš-šeh* Ghânim, Abû Hurêrah, *masâdjid sittnâ* 'Âiſeh, *eš-šeh* 'Abdallâh, etc. In such cases the stones are generally a sign

١ رَمَيْتُ عَلَيْكَ حِمْلِي يَا وَلِيَّ اللَّهِ.

٢ Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 25.

٣ Cf. the custom of placing stones on the rock Abû eẓ-Zhûr after rubbing the back, p. 83.

٤ الأَعْمَالُ بِالنِّيَّاتِ.

of having visited the sanctuary. In the case of *en-nabî* Yaqîn near Benî N'êm the door-handle, as well as the railing surrounding the holy rock, showing the footprints of Abraham, are full of these rags. Bracelets, beads and small necklaces were also to be found among the rags.<sup>1</sup> Many take some of these rags and carry them, believing that they thus receive a *barakeh* from the *welî*.<sup>2</sup> This is especially practiced by sick persons. In every such case another rag must be substituted for the one which is removed. Doubtless this custom resembles that recorded Acts 19 12: "So that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons and the disease departed from them and the evil spirit went out of them."

The Bedouin and half Bedouin often fasten their '*uqâl* on the holy tree. They believe that this is most efficacious, since it is a complete article of dress and represents the owner better. In very rare cases a *hidjâb* is bound on a holy object. The idea is that it thus contracts more power, which is added to the power of the magic or Qorânic formula. This custom I know only in connection with *en-nabî* Dâniân.

Some trees on which rags may be seen hanging are:

<i>Eš-šêh</i> Yûsif	N. of Râmallâh
<i>en-nabî</i> Nûn (oak)	Yanûn
<i>eš-šêh</i> el-Buhtîârî (oak and carob)	N. of Hirbet el-Lôz
Harrûbet el-'Ašarah	'Êsâwîyeh
<i>êš-šêh</i> Barrî (oak)	N. of Dêr Ghassâneh
Abû er-Râyât (oak)	W. of Dêr Ballût
<i>eš-šêh</i> 'Abdallâh (oak)	S. of Yabrûd
el-Buţmeh	Qubêbeh
<i>en-nabî</i> 'Annîr	Râs ibn Samhân

Among shrines where rags are tied on the iron bars of the windows are:

Abû Madian	Jerusalem
Bêram Djâwîš	Jerusalem
Tâqet Silwân	Aqşâ mosque
<i>en-nabî</i> Mûsâ	
Abû Zêtûn	an hour from Bêt 'Ûniâ
el-Badrîyeh	Šarâfât

<sup>1</sup> The same I observed in Abû Hurêrah.

<sup>2</sup> Curtiss, chapter VII.



Even on the grave these reminders may be placed:

<i>en-nabî</i> Nûḥ	Kerak
<i>eš-šēḥ</i> Slimân	Dêr Abân
<i>eš-šēḥ</i> Aḥmad el-'Amarî	near Dêr Abân
Abû Hurêrah	Tell Abû Hurêrah
<i>eš-šēḥ</i> Nûrân	near Šallâleh

On the doors of *eš-šēḥ* 'Abd er-Raḥmân (Raḥmûn), *en-nabî* Lût and *en-nabî* Yaqîn (both in Beni N'ém), and on the *miḥdjâneḥ* of *eš-šēḥ* Aḥmad el-Gharib (N. of Mdjêdil en-Nâsrah) rags may be found.

I have never found the practice of attaching meat to trees as Jaussen<sup>1</sup> and Doughty (referred to by Curtiss) have observed. This custom seems to be characteristic of the Bedouin.

#### 4. HEALING

It is wonderful what a profound belief in the power of the saints still exists in the Orient. We have seen how the peasant comes in every phase of his life to these demigods. He comes for help, but he comes also to thank them. When a child is severely ill the mother implores a saint: "I beg you, O prophet David, to cure my son." Or in a more humble way, "I am your servant, O Friend of God, save my only child!"<sup>2</sup>

We have already noted that the present inhabitants of Palestine try to obtain the special favour and help of the saints by promising them offerings if they answer the prayer and cure the sick. But they are not satisfied with these means. Thus we observe that it is still a deep-rooted belief among them, as it was among their ancestors, that everything which belongs to or comes in direct contact with a saint or his shrine receives some of his power, which may be transmitted to others.<sup>3</sup> Thus the trees, grass, stones, water, earth of the tomb, the tomb coverings, oil and even sweepings, possess supernatural power by virtue of the *welî* to whom they belong. This belief leads the Oriental to use such objects, hoping thus to get some of the saint's power to guard him from misfortune, ease his

<sup>1</sup> Jaussen, p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> "Only child" is expressed by *wahîd*. When one has a son (or a daughter), after a long period, he calls him (or her) *wahîd* (or *wahîdeh*).

<sup>3</sup> The people of Bêt Djâlâ believe that they will sell their goods better if they put some earth of *srîr* et-Saiydeh on them.



pains and hasten his recovery. In examining these curative "medicines" we are astonished by their great number and variety.

We may divide this material into the following classes:

1. Objects taken from the sanctuary and used in a protective or curative way

2. Acts performed in a sanctuary to cure a disease.

Ad 1. The material used may be of vegetable, mineral, or of liquid origin. The grass which grows around the shrine is gathered and dried if necessary and used to fumigate a person who has fever.<sup>1</sup> The common word for "fumigate" is *da'aq*. Leaves of trees are used in the same way. Occasionally a decoction of plants is made as a draught. Small pieces of wood are cut from holy trees and carried as amulets. The *mês* trees (*Celtis Australis* L.) which grow in the Mosque of Omar area<sup>2</sup> are the most important source of such amulet wood. They are carried as a protection against the evil effect of the bad eye. One sees many children—and sometimes animals—wearing this amulet. The most active '*ûd* (twig) *mês* is that which is cut on the 27th of Ramaḍân<sup>3</sup> after sun-set and before day-break,<sup>4</sup> since the Qorân says: "It is peace until the rising of the morn"<sup>5</sup> (last verse of *Sûreh* 97). This night<sup>6</sup> is chosen, since all believe that the heavens then open, the angels descend, and God grants every wish and hears all prayers.<sup>7</sup> The Mohammedans believe that the divine decrees for the ensuing year are annually fixed and settled on this night.<sup>8</sup> The *mês* trees were planted according to popular legend by the *ḍjinn* as a present to king Solomon for the protection

<sup>1</sup> Still better is straw taken from an ant-hill, situated near a shrine.

<sup>2</sup> See *Aberglaube*, pp. 62, 63.

<sup>3</sup> The 27th of Ramaḍân is *lêlatu l-Qadr* mentioned in the 97th *Sûrah*. According to most Mohammedans it is one of the last ten nights of this month. In Palestine the 27th is fixed as the night. This is due (according to *at-Tuhfah l-Marḍīyah fî l-Aḥbâr el-Qudsīyah wal-Aḥādīṭ an-Nabāwīyah wal-'Aqā'id et-Tawḥīdīyah*, by 'Abd el-Madjid 'Alî) to the word *lêlatu l-Qadr* coming three times in this *Sûrah*. As this word contains nine letters (ليلة القدر), the number of letters of this word in this *Sûrah* indicates which night of Ramaḍân.

<sup>4</sup> Most people cut the twigs just after midnight.

<sup>5</sup> Sale's translation.

<sup>6</sup> On this night the angel Gabriel gave his first revelation to the Prophet.

<sup>7</sup> All sins are forgiven if requested.

<sup>8</sup> According to *et-Tuhfah el-Marḍīyah*, the battle of Badr took place on the morning of the next day.

of his temple.<sup>1</sup> The small twigs have nearly always the shape of a fork with two spikes.<sup>2</sup> Christians, who also believe in the action of this tree, but to a less extent than the Mohammedans, cut small twigs from the *mês* tree near the well of the three Kings.<sup>3</sup> It is believed that the present tree is the offshoot of that under which Mary rested when she was pursued by the Jews.<sup>4</sup> If possible a twig with the form of the cross is carried.

Dates are brought from Mecca as a *barakeh* and as a special means of making children speak sooner. But they have also another benefit; if young children are allowed to suck such a date, they will become good speakers with a sweet voice.<sup>5</sup> The Christians believe that a date from the date-palm of Mâr Sâbâ<sup>6</sup> is the best cure<sup>7</sup> for sterility.<sup>8</sup> Cut-up palm-leaves are used in *qisret el-Hamîs*, to be described below.

Leaves of the Prophet's olive tree gathered on the feast of the flags (*djum'et el-'alêmât*<sup>9</sup>), which corresponds to the Good Friday of the Greek Church, help to cure fever and stomach trouble. This tree lies between the Aqşâ and the Omar Mosque, just to the west of the water-basin (*el-Kâs*). Every year the Prophet and his *Ṣaḥâbeh* inhabit this tree at the above mentioned time. This supernatural fact manifests itself by a quivering vibration of the twigs. Olive trees enjoy special honour in Palestine.<sup>10</sup> Christians<sup>11</sup> take small

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> The well is called Bîr Qadismâ.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> The Prophet is supposed to have said "keep your aunts, the date-palms, in honour," cf. *Aberglaube* p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> It is really curious that a saint who during all his life ran away from women and even long after his death guards his convent from female intruders should help women against sterility.

<sup>7</sup> Heard from several persons and a priest of the convent.

<sup>8</sup> *Ḥarîdatu l-'Adjâ'ib* says that date-palms were created from the same earth from which Adam was made. (*Aberglaube*, p. 87).

<sup>9</sup> Pl. of *'elêm*, the diminutive from *'alam*.

<sup>10</sup> *Aberglaube*, l. c.

<sup>11</sup> Abû Šukrî Mustaklîm.

olive twigs carried during the Foot-washing procession and mix it with *qišret el-Hamîs*.<sup>1</sup>

Next we turn to a pure Christian practice which resembles the customs already described in many respects. The *Qišret el-Hamîs* has been described already in my *Aberglaube*, and this account may be repeated here with some additions. *Qišret el-Hamîs*, which means literally "the peelings of Thursday," is composed of the capsules of *mahlab* (*Prunus mahaleb*,<sup>2</sup> an aromatic grain) with cut-up leaves of palms, olive trees, and some cut flowers. The *mahlab* capsules are dipped in the water in which the Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church washes the feet of the Bishops in the ceremony of Maundy Thursday. The water is perfumed with rose-water, etc. This sack is dried and put that very evening on the pulpit from which the gospels are read. The olive leaves are taken from the olive branches which are used in the ceremony of the Foot-washing. The flowers come from the *hadd en-nuss*<sup>3</sup> or from *'id eš-šalib*, "the Feast of the Cross." On these two days the cross is laid on a large plate (*sinîyeh*) covered with flowers. Prayers are said upon it and the flowers are then distributed to the congregation. The palm-leaves are from palm Sunday. Very often one finds salt and alum mixed with *Qišret el-Hamîs*. This composition is used to fumigate a sick child, as it is the best means to obviate the bad results of the evil eye. When no salt and alum are mixed in, they are added before the fumigation takes place.<sup>4</sup>

Mêramiyeh (*Salvia Triloba*) has its name from Mariam (St. Mary). It is said that while Mary was walking once in a hot summer day she perspired profusely, so she plucked a plant to wipe her face. Hence this plant carries her name, and is used to cure many diseases.

In examining those objects which belong to the mineral kingdom we find that *qšârah* (plaster), stones and sweepings of many shrines are used medicinally. The stones are carried, or water in which

<sup>1</sup> It is a wide-spread custom to place below the threshold a green olive or other twig with a silver coin, as it is believed that such an act symbolizes perpetuity and prosperity. For the same reason a large green twig (an olive one is always preferred) is placed where a tiled roof is being erected.

<sup>2</sup> Belot.

<sup>3</sup> The Sunday which lies in the middle of the Easter fast-days.

<sup>4</sup> Heard from Miss Baldensberger.

they have been placed is drunk. The black stones of Nebî Mûsâ are considered as a very active *hirz* (protective amulet). They show their special power in being burned. They contain a bituminous substance and are therefore black. Very often they are cut in square or triangular forms, a protective talisman is inscribed and are thus carried as a *hidjâb* (talisman). Christians as well as Mohammedans use the soft, whitish stones of the milk-grotto in Bethlehem to increase mother's milk. The stones are rubbed in water and given to the nursing women. It is supposed that the Holy Family took refuge to this cave, where a drop of Mary's milk dropped on the floor. In many cases a certain number of stones from a special holy place have to be worn in order to be efficacious. I have always found the number seven in use. Seven stones taken from *eš-šêḥ* Ghreiyb, *šiyûḥ* el Masâlmeh, *eš-šêḥ* Abû Yâmîn, etc., cure fever.

The sweepings of *eš-šêḥ* Šnêt (Hebron) cure sterility,<sup>1</sup> and those of *en-nabî* Šâlêḥ, *šêḥ* Qaitûn (Hebron), *eš-šêḥ* Ramaḡân,<sup>2</sup> etc., heal fever. Some of the earth (*trâbeh*) of *eš-šêḥ* ez-Zughbeh (Mâlḡah) prepared with oil in a paste cure sores of the head. Earth gathered from *qabr* er-Râ'î<sup>3</sup> dissolved in water and given to cattle will guard them from disease.

The water of many holy places is used for curative purposes. Cure is effected either by a bath or by internal use. In most cases the water is used either to heal fever or to prevent sterility. People suffering from fever take a bath in 'Ên Silwân, 'Ên eš-Šâmiyeh,<sup>4</sup> 'Ên *en-nebî* Aiyûb or the well of *eš-šêḥ* Ibrâhîm,<sup>5</sup> or they drink from the cistern of eš-Šuhadâ.<sup>6</sup> In the case of Siloam it is not a simple bath which cures fever. The bath must be taken on Friday during the midday prayer, after which water is poured over the patient

<sup>1</sup> The same is true of Nebî Šâlêḥ (in the village bearing his name) which is situated on the top of a mountain. The servant ('*abd*', also "negro") of the Prophet is thought to be living in the *badd* (oilpress) of the *maqâm*.

<sup>2</sup> In Qaṭanneh. He is supposed to be a relative of the Prophet, and as the inhabitants of the village consider themselves his descendants, they call themselves *ašrâf*, or members of the Prophet's family.

<sup>3</sup> Near the sanctuary of Nabî Mûsâ.

<sup>4</sup> In Kolônîâ.

<sup>5</sup> Bêt Djibrîn.

<sup>6</sup> Hebron.



seven consecutive times. When a sterile woman seeks a cure of her barrenness, she takes with her to this spring seven *mašâhiş* (pl. of *mašhaş*<sup>1</sup>), seven keys of doors which open to the south, and seven cups of water, each from different cisterns upon whose openings the rays of the sun never shine.<sup>2</sup> She places the keys and the *mašâhiş* in the water, washes herself with it and pours the water of the seven cisterns over herself afterwards. *Mašâhiş* are old gold coins which bear on one side two human figures (*şahş* = person).

El-Maṭba'ah, a swamp in the plain of Esdraelon between eš-šêḥ Ibrêk and Tell eš-Šammâm is renowned for the cure of rheumatism, nervous pains and sterility. It is believed that eš-šêḥ Ibrêk gives this place its healing powers. After a barren woman has taken a bath in el-Maṭba'ah she washes herself in 'Ên Ishâq and goes then to eš-šêḥ Ibrêk to offer a present. *En-nabî Aiyûb*, east of Ḥarbatâ, helps also to cure sterility. Many inhabitants of Jerusalem believe that sitting in the *djurn* (basin) of *sittî Mariam*<sup>3</sup> banishes barrenness. It is supposed that the Virgin Mary once took a bath in this basin. Barren women believe that they may receive children through the blessing of these demigods, the *awliâ*. The Hebrews of the Old Testament<sup>4</sup> used to cherish the same belief.<sup>5</sup> Washing inflamed eyes with the water of 'Ên Imm el-Lôz (below Silwân) is supposed to cure them. Christian women think, as already mentioned, that Christ sent the blind man to wash his eyes with its water.<sup>6</sup>

Several springs where the Palestinians believe that Job bathed and was thus cured of his disease, are still used for all sorts of skin affections. Some of these places are:

Hammân eš-Šifâ <sup>7</sup>	Jerusalem
Bîr Aiyûb <sup>8</sup>	near Siloam
en-nabî Aiyûb	Râs ibn Simḥân
en-nabî Aiyûb	Ḥarbatâ

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Canaan, *JPOS* vol. I, p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Near St. Stephen's gate.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. 17-11; 2 Kg. 4 12-17; Gen. 29 31, 30 2, 22, 18 10.

<sup>5</sup> Curtiss, chapter X.

<sup>6</sup> *JPOS* vol. I, pp. 153 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Near the Mosque of Omar.

<sup>8</sup> Below Silwân.



en-nabî Aiyûb	Dêr Aiyûb (near Bâb el-Wâd)
Bîr Aiyûb	Dêr Aiyûb (near Bâb el-Wâd)
Ên Aiyûb	E. of Ĥarbatâ <sup>1</sup>

To this list I may add that the people of Gaza and the villages north and south of it believe that Job was cured from his severe skin eruption by taking a bath in the sea on the Wednesday which precedes the Greek Easter. Therefore this day is known by the name of *arba'at Aiyûb*, or *ibriyet Aiyûb*. All animals afflicted with a skin disease are brought Tuesday evening (i. e. the beginning of Wednesday<sup>2</sup>) to the sea and bathed. The best place where a cure can be obtained is near sittnâ el-Ĥadrâ (near the site of Ascalon).

In the vicinity of the spring Abû Zêd and Ên abû Fakkah (Bêt Zakariyâ) some herbs grow which cure the bad effects of *el-hôfeh* = fear. The curative action is due to the *nabî*<sup>3</sup> zakariyâ.<sup>4</sup>

The water of *'iyûn el-ḥaṣr* (springs of retention of urine) are renowned all over Palestine as the best cure for suppression of urine. Among all springs belonging to this group I have found only one which is supposed to be inhabited by a *welî*, namely Bîr es-Saḥar in Dêr Ṭarif, inhabited by *el-welî* Šu'êb. The question how these springs got their curative action remains unsettled.<sup>5</sup>

Not only are things which are physically connected with a shrine used medicinally, but even offerings deposited there are also employed to cure disease. Thus we find that wicks (of oil lamps), incense, rags fastened on a tree or a window, tomb-coverings, etc., possess a curative action. Rheumatic or neuralgic<sup>6</sup> patients rub their fore-

<sup>1</sup> Some of these were mentioned in *JPOS*, vol. I, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> The mode of reckoning time in Palestine exists to-day just as it was in days of Christ. The day of twenty-four hours begins with sunset and ends with sunset. This is alluded to in almost the opening words of the Bible (Gen. 15; see also vv. 8, 13, 19, 23 and 31). In keeping with this, the priests in the Tabernacle were to order it (that is, their daily service) from evening till morning. There are very many references in the Bible pointing to this mode of reckoning. Cf. James Neil, *Palestine Life*, pp. 1ff.

<sup>3</sup> See also Goldziher, *Moham. Studien*, pp. 345, 346. In the vicinity of el-Mbârakeh (Qalandiah) grows a plant called *'išbet en-naṣrah*, which is carried against the evil eye.

<sup>4</sup> Heard from Miss Baldensberger.

<sup>5</sup> These springs have been described *JPOS*, vol. I, pp. 146–153.

<sup>6</sup> The word *'aṣabî* is used falsely for rheumatic and neuralgic pains, as well as for nervous and mental diseases.

heads and joints with oil from shrines. Sometimes it is mixed with dried herbs, as in the case of *eš-šēh* Šnêṭ and *eš-šēh* Kanfûš (both in Hebron), or it is mixed with some earth of the shrine (*ez-Zughbeh* in Mâlḥah). This paste is used for skin troubles. Whenever oil is taken from any shrine other oil is given in its place; if this is neglected, the holy oil may produce a result opposite to that intended.

The wicks of Nebî Mûsâ (sometimes Nebî Dâhûd or the Ḥaram in Hebron) swallowed by sterile women are believed to cure their condition. Others carry these wicks as a *ḥidjâb* (amulet) against the same trouble. A patient with fever is supposed to get well if he is fumigated with incense taken from *sittnâ* el-*Ḥadrâ* (near ed-Djôrah) or with the straw of the mats (*qašš ḥašîreh*) of Šhâb ed-Dîn (near Jaffa). If small children wear a rag, taken from a holy tree or a holy shrine, they are protected against the bad effects of evil spirits. Fumigation with such a rag is believed to cure all diseases caused by the *djinn*. Whenever a rag is taken, another must be fastened in its place. Rags from Šadjaret es-Sa'âdeh (between Yâmûn and Djenin) are renowned for their action. Women try to cut a piece off of the tomb-covering of Nebî Mûsâ and make it into a cup for a sickly child or for a child whose mother has lost most of her male children. A thread which has been passed around the tomb of Moses (and which has thus the length of its circumference) worn around the waist of a woman suffering from continuous miscarriages, prevents such an evil in the future. The rosaries of many saints help to hasten a difficult labour. No sooner does a woman hang such a rosary around her neck and down the abdomen over her womb than normal contractions begin and all troubles and pains are soon over. These wonderful rosaries are called *masâbih* (pl. of *masbahah*) *yusur*.<sup>1</sup>

Among such rosaries are that of el-Bakrî,<sup>2</sup> in the possession of Ḥasan of Dêr Ghassâneh; that of *eš-šēh* Abû Yamîn (Bêt 'Anân) in possession of *eš-šēh* Yûsif and that of *eš-šēh* el-Aramî. The same wonderful help can also be obtained by the tomb-coverings of *eš-šēh*

<sup>1</sup> Some mean by this name a special sort of rosary.

<sup>2</sup> O. S. el-Barghûṭî.

Moḥammed el-Ḥalilî.<sup>1</sup> The bread of *sîdnâ eš-šêḥ* Abû Madian,<sup>2</sup> which is prepared from corn of the *waqf* of this holy man during the month of Ramaḍân is a *barakeh*, as well as a remedy. In the latter case it is hung above the head of the sick or put under his pillow. During the bread-making the Qoran is recited. Generally the following parts are read while the dough is kneaded:

The whole Qoran	once
Al-Fâtiḥah	seven times
Sûrah 112	ten times
Sûrah 113	three times
Sûrah 114	three times

As it would take a very long time for one person to read the whole Qoran alone, we see as many persons as the Qoran has parts (*ḥizb*) assisting in reciting the Holy Book. Some of this bread is sometimes prepared in the month Šabân. But only that which is made during Ramaḍân possesses the above-mentioned virtue.<sup>3</sup> Holy bread (the *quddâseh*) is used also by Christians. It should be eaten only while one is ritually clean.

The slippers (*bâbûdj*, pl. *bawâbîdj*) of el-Madjdûb<sup>4</sup> (Dêr Ghassâneh) cure facial paralysis (*nîltâh*) by being used to beat the affected side. That of el-Bakrî (*Djammâ'in*) if worn by sterile women, cures their condition. For *ṭasîṭ er-radjfeh* I may refer to my article JPOS III, 122.

Ad 2. We shall now deal with actions connected with a holy place and performed by the sick person to obtain relief. Such actions are connected strictly with the most holy part of the shrine, generally the tomb. The following examples will illustrate. A man with fever tries to get rid of his disease by walking seven times around the tomb of *šêḥ* Hrês. After each turn he picks up a stone and places it on the tomb. While the sick person is walking around

<sup>1</sup> Moḥammad bin Šaraf ed-Dîn eš-Šâfî'î el-Ḥalilî, who was born in Hebron, studied in Cairo and died in Jerusalem (1147 A. H.).

<sup>2</sup> Abû Madian is Šu'êb Abû Madian of Morocco. He built in Jerusalem the *Zâwîet el-Maghârbeh*, where he chose to be buried. But he died in Morocco and only his hand is buried in the *zâwieh* (*Lawâqîḥ el-Awâr*, by 'Abd el-Wahhâb eš-Šarânî I, 153).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> There is at present only one.

the grave his relatives say prayers. Others think that taking stones and placing them on the tomb<sup>1</sup> with the words "carry the fever in my place, O *šēh Šnêt*" suffice to remove the fever.<sup>2</sup>

In Jericho a fever patient is carried by his relatives and laid on the tomb of *eš-šēh Ghânim*. The relatives retire, leaving the sick person alone, for they believe that the soul of this man of God converses with the sick one and at last heals him.<sup>3</sup> In Nâblus the very sick are carried to the shrine of el-Anbiâ. They are placed near the tomb and left alone. If they perspire it is believed that the disease gets better. In the case of *eš-šēh Sa'id (Idnah)* those attacked with fever lie in the enclosure. Backache is cured by rubbing the back on Abû ez-Zhûr and placing a stone on the rock. The same power is attributed to the broken column placed at the head of a small tomb beside *eš-šēh Šaddâd* in the cemetery of Bâb er-Rahmeh.<sup>4</sup> In Hebron mothers induce their children to run over the tomb of *eš-šēh Šnêt* to get over their ailments.<sup>5</sup>

An impotent man must wash himself in a *welî* or on the threshold of el-ʿAṭêrî (Dêr Ghassâneh). A *hidjâb* written by the *šēh* of el-Ḥadrâ (Nâblus) and worn by the impotent, after he has prayed in the room known as Ḥuzn Ya'qûb, will cure his condition.

A child suffering from fever is taken by his mother to el-Kâs<sup>6</sup> (also Djurn) a water basin between el-Aqṣâ and eš-Šaḡrah. The

<sup>1</sup> 'Abd. el-Ghânî states that the sick and troubled of his time used to place stones on the tomb of Aḥmad ed-Dadjânî, hoping to get rid of their difficulties (Kahle, *PJB* VI, 74).

<sup>2</sup> While this idea is true in connection with placing stones on a holy spot, it can not be accepted—at least for Palestinian conditions—in connection with throwing a stone on a *mafâzeh*, as Doutté describes for Morocco (p. 428). *Mafâzeh* is, as we have seen on page 76, a heap of stones found on the top of a mountain. A traveller will, after climbing the mountain, throw a stone on an existing heap and thank the Almighty that he has overcome a difficulty, but does not intend by this act to transfer his weariness, palpitation, thirst and breathlessness to the heap of stones.

<sup>3</sup> A patient who was cured in this way told me that the *šēh* asked him about his ailments, advised him to keep his religious obligations and cured him.

<sup>4</sup> Different cases have been mentioned where patients place stones on the holy place. By doing so the peasant believes that he takes away his burden—disease—and places it on the *welî*. He gets rid of it, and the man of God, whom this burden cannot injure, assumes it.



<sup>5</sup> See also Doutté, pp. 435, 436.

<sup>6</sup> This basin is holy, since it lies between the two mosques, and is quite near "Mohammed's olive tree."





child walks three times around the basin, during the midday prayer on Friday. During this process his mother throws sweets continually on the ground, and the child is taken home without turning or looking back.

Talismans<sup>1</sup> are also made in a sanctuary and worn by people as a protection against disease, or are used to fumigate a sick child. The seal of the Mosque of Hebron with the names of the Patriarchs and those of their wives who were buried there is used against fever (cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 130). The following is a translation of such a talisman:

 seal	His wife chosen by God	The Prophet of God Abraham Peace be with him	 seal
----- A			

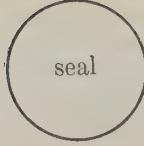
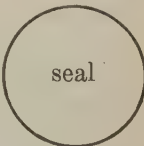
His wife Rifqah chosen by God	The Prophet of God Isaac Peace be with him
-------------------------------------	--

----- B

 seal	His wife Lâiqah chosen by God	The Prophet of God Jacob Peace be with him	 seal
----- C			

His wife Zlîhah chosen by God	The Prophet of God Joseph Peace be with him
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----- D

 seal	The foot print of the Prophet	The Holy Cave	 seal
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<sup>1</sup> The best cure of a horse suffering from colic is to ride the animal at a gallop and after tiring it, to make it jump over one, better three tombs seven times (Mûsâ Abû Nadâ).



This paper is cut at the dotted lines A, B, C and D. The child is fumigated every day with one piece. In reading the amulet read from right to left.

Similar seals are also issued by some of the *šēhs* of the Mosque of Omar. Such a paper<sup>1</sup> contains circular seals with different writings and the representations of hands, swords and balances. Characteristic inscriptions of these *hawâtim* (pl. of *hâtim*, seal) are:

1. In the representation of the sword:

لا فتاً<sup>2</sup> الا علي ولا سيف الا ذا الفقار<sup>3</sup>

(There is) no young man except 'Alî and no sword except *Dû l-Fiqâr*.<sup>4</sup>

2. In a *hâtim* with a balance:

قال عليه السلام من اراد ان ينظر الى بقعة من بقع الجنة فينظر الى بيت المقدس<sup>5</sup> السيد احمد الشريف<sup>6</sup>  
الصراط  
شهادة

He (Mohammed), peace be upon him, said that whoever desires to behold a patch (little piece) of Paradise should see Jerusalem. Es-saiyd Aḥmad eš-Šarîf.

The way.

Šhâdeh.

3. In another *hâtim* with a balance:

هذا ميزان هذا صراط

This is a balance. This is a way.

4. In a circular seal (that of Moses):

موسى كليم الله

Moses the Interlocutor of God.

<sup>1</sup> I have such talismans on white, red, and green paper.

<sup>2</sup> I have always found it written in these seals with <sup>ا</sup> instead of <sup>ي</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> On the *hîrz* of Murdjâneh (cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 48) we find also the sword with the following inscription:

لا فتى الا علي ولا سيف الا ذو الفقار سيف الله يقسم كل جبار من حمل  
هذا كان أمناً ان شاء الله من شر الاشرار

<sup>4</sup> *Dû l-Fiqâr* is the byname of the sword of 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib. It is said to have been made from the piece of iron which was found buried in al-Ka'bah (*Dâirat al-Ma'ârif*, vol. VIII, p. 410).

<sup>5</sup> A *ḥadîth*.

<sup>6</sup> Probably names of the *šiyūh* in whose possession this seal was. The first is the older one.

## 5. Abraham's seal (circular):

رسول الملك العزيز العلام ابراهيم خليل الرحمن عليه الصلوة والسلام

The Apostle of the King, the Beloved, the Allknowing, Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful One, on him be prayers and peace.

6. On a round seal we read *âyatu l-kursî* (Sûrah II, 250).

## 7. In the representation of the hand:

وبشّر المؤمنين يا محمد نصر من الله وفتح قريب  
لا اله الا الله ومحمد رسول الله  
لا فتى الا علي ولا سيف الا ذا الفقار  
يا حنان يا منان يا رحمان يا الله  
الظاهر الباطن الاول الاخر

Bear good tidings to the true believers, O Mohammed, assistance from God, and a speedy victory.<sup>1</sup>

There is no God, but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God.

There is no youth but 'Alî, and no sword but *Dû l-Fiqâr*.

O Sympathetic, O Benevolent, O Merciful, O God.

The External, the Internal, the First, the Last.

One large seal encloses twelve circles, another seven. These circles contain efficacious verses. When such papers are issued we notice that each one contains several of the above-mentioned figures.

Often when a child is sick and the mother believes that only a *hidjâb* will help to cure him, and she can not get one written at that moment, she puts a small bag of salt in a hole of the eastern wall and says '*alâ kîs er-Rfâ'i*', "for the sake of er-R." Very early in the morning she goes to a *şekh* of the *Rifâ'i* order and asks him to write her a *hidjâb* for the sick child. Her pious intention—shown by the act described—ensures the favour of this man of God, even before she receives a talisman from one of his representatives.<sup>2</sup>

In analyzing the diseases which are cured by remedies taken from a *welî* we find that two are most represented, namely, fever and sterility. The following diseases come next: mental troubles, suppression of urine, and skin diseases. The reasons why fever and sterility predominate are the following. By fever the Oriental understands every ailment which is accompanied by fever, and where no

<sup>1</sup> Taken from Sûrah 61.

<sup>2</sup> A custom in Dêr Ghassâneh, heard from O. S. Barghûti.

other symptoms—like bleeding (from the lungs, or gastrointestinal tract), diarrhea, coughing, etc.—predominate. Thus malaria, typhoid, typhus, recurrent fever, etc., are called simply *shûneh* or *humma* (fever). We know also that malaria is a very widespread disease, met with all over Palestine. In this way “fever” may be considered the greatest Palestinian plague. Sterility, or in other words, marriage without children, especially male ones, is a severe punishment, causing a strongly felt disgrace. A man’s honour is best expressed by calling him not by his name but by that of his oldest son, preceded by “father of.” Abû ‘Alî,<sup>1</sup> “the father of ‘Alî,” is the honorific name of X, who is never called “X,” but Abû ‘Alî. In order to disguise the true condition of a childless man, he is called “father” of his own father’s name;<sup>2</sup> for example Ḥasan has no children, while his father’s name is Moḥammed, he is called Abû Moḥammed, or Abû Ibrâhîm if Ibrâhîm is the name of his father. This is the reason why every barren woman seeks for help everywhere to escape her despised condition.

Very interesting is the fact that some *awliâ* have a special power over certain diseases; i. e., they are specialists for one sort of ailments. Following is a list giving the diseases and the saints which cure them: For mental troubles el-Ḥader,<sup>3</sup> Rdjâl Şûfah (Dêr Ghassâneh), en-Nûbânî, eš-šêḥ Djabr (Râfât) and sittnâ el-Ḥadrâ are sought. El-Ḥader enjoys the greatest reputation of all. Every place where it is supposed that the prophet Job took a bath is renowned for curing skin-troubles (see above). Şiyûḥ el-‘Arûrî (Dêr Ghassâneh) have the power of curing a special eruption of the head called *šawwâṭah* (also *ra‘âyeḥ*). They cauterize it with fire, while an ointment made of some herbs which grow near the shrine is given to the patient.<sup>4</sup>

Er-Rfâî had while on earth the power of healing the bite of venomous serpents. He begged the Almighty to give *qarn el-ḥalkîṭ*

<sup>1</sup> It is a widespread custom of Mohammedans and Christians in Palestine to give their first son the name of his grandfather (father’s father).

<sup>2</sup> A *ḥadîṭ* says *ḥairu l-asmâi mâ ḥammada au ‘abbad*, “the best names are those of Mohammed or ‘Abd (“servant”).” The latter is always followed by a name or attribute of God.

<sup>3</sup> I have transcribed both *Ḥadr* and *Ḥader*, as both pronounciations are heard.

<sup>4</sup> For severe menstrual bleeding the inhabitants of the Samaria district go to Banât Ya‘qûb for help.

(called in some places *qarn el-halîlî*) an antivenomous power. Since his death the milk in which the *qarn* has been rubbed is believed to cure every poisoned person. The *ṣiyûḥ* of er-Rfâ'i pretend to be proof against every serpent bite.

Very widespread is the belief that certain cures are surer at special times. Thus bathing in Hammâm el-Ên and springs dedicated to Job in the night of 'Aṣûrah<sup>1</sup> (the tenth of Moharram<sup>2</sup>) is more effective than bathing at any other period. The sea is most curative in the day of *ibrîyet Ayyûb*. The best *'ud mēs* is that which was cut in *Lêlatu l-Qadr* (the 27th of Ramaḍân). Acts performed about noon time (*ṣalât ez-ẓuhr*) are more efficacious than others, etc.

I shall close this section with a study of the shrines of el-Hader (St. George), the most renowned saint physician for nervous and mental troubles. This man of God, who is honoured by all creeds in Palestine, possesses many sanctuaries. To every one of them come suppliants, but some are more popular than others. I have been able to gather the following list of shrines connected with this saint:

Place	Quarter	Description
Jerusalem	Armenian quarter	belongs to the Greek Church
Jerusalem	beside the Franciscan Convent	belongs to the Greek Church
Jerusalem	inside the Jaffa Gate	belongs to the Copts <sup>3</sup>
Jerusalem	outside the Jaffa Gate	belongs to the Qurṭ family, and is honoured by Mohammedans and Christians <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is said that el-Husên died this day while very thirsty. Therefore many will drink water with eyes shut and from an opaque vessel, in order not to see the water.

<sup>2</sup> Not the ninth, as Hava states in his *Arabic-English Dictionary*.

<sup>3</sup> These three churches are not used by Mohammedans.

<sup>4</sup> George Qurṭ told me the story of this place as follows: His father and grandfather were once ploughing the land where the sanctuary lies. One day they rested at midday, stretching themselves under an olive tree, which was known afterwards as *Zêtûnit el-Haḍr*. Both fell asleep. St. George appeared to the grandfather and ordered him: "Get up and build my sanctuary, you will find the door at such a spot." Instead of getting up, the grandfather wrapped himself better in his cloak, thinking that it was only a dream. But the saint



Place	Quarter	Description
Jerusalem	Mosque of Omar <sup>1</sup>	Maqâm el-Ḥaḍr below the Holy Rock <sup>2</sup>
Jerusalem	Mosque of Omar	Qubbet el-Ḥaḍr
	area, NW. corner	
Jerusalem	Same, NE. corner	near Bâb es-Sbât (not so popular at present)
Jerusalem	el-Aqṣâ	Bâb el-Ḥaḍr (the east door, which is not in use at present)
Between	Bêt Djâlâ and the Pools of Solomon	honoured by Christians and Moham-medans
Nablus	Šuêtra	a mosque
Nablus	Ḥâret el-ʿAqabeh	room with a <i>miḥrâb</i> <sup>3</sup>
Nablus	near the large <i>djâmi</i> <sup>4</sup>	dark room <sup>4</sup>
Nâblus	Ḥammâm ed-Daradjeh	a basin in which he takes a bath every Friday <sup>5</sup>
Taiybeh		Christian church
Bêt 'Anân		a <i>ḥuwêṭah</i> and a few fig trees. The place is completely neglected

repeated his request and at last said: „You both shall remain dumb, until my sanctuary is built.” Frightened, the man got up, aroused his son, and—behold—both were dumb. Next day the work was begun and they, indeed, found at the described spot the opening of a cave. To their astonishment and that of all spectators the calf which they had lost a year ago while ploughing this place was found in the cave, well-grown and fed. Straw, barley and water were brought to him in a miraculous way by St. George. They found also the following inscription

عجائب الخضر كثيرة ما هي قليلة هنا محل القديس العظيم في الشهداء  
جورجيوس الابس الظفر المستشهد في الحروب

“The miracles of el-Ḥaḍr are many, not few. Here is the place of the great saint among the martyrs, George clad with victories, the martyr in the wars.” The renown of this place spread. Even the Sultan granted it a Farmân. Patients began to flock hither, the last one in the year 1923. No sooner was the work of restoring the *maqâm* at an end, then the power of speech of the grandfather and father of George Qurṭ was restored. An abbreviated version of the story is given by Kahle, *PJ* VI, 88.

<sup>1</sup> The four next places are mentioned by Mudjîr ed-Dîn.

<sup>2</sup> Kahle notes that *el-balâṭah es-sôdah* is dedicated to el-Ḥaḍr (*PJ* VI, pp. 88, 91).

<sup>3</sup> The saint used to assemble here with other *awliâ*.

<sup>4</sup> Mentally diseased persons used to be fastened here with iron chains. I have seen one of these chains still in place.

<sup>5</sup> The ill take a bath in this basin on Friday, believing that this will cure them.



Place	Quarter	Description
Djifnah		Christian <sup>1</sup>
Carmel	a cave	honoured by all denominations <sup>2</sup>
Bêt Rîmâ		honoured by the Mohammedans
Lydd	inside the village	a church, honoured by Mohammedans and Christians
near Bêt Djâlâ	on the way a <i>ḥuwêṭiyeh</i> called <i>ḥaṭwet</i> ( <i>ḥabtet</i> ) el-Ḥaḍr	
	to er-Râs	
Karak		honoured by Christians and Mohammedans.

There are some *awliâ* bearing the name *es-sêḥ* Ḥaḍr (like that W. of Rammûn) which probably have nothing to do with St. George. There are many other shrines dedicated to this *waliy allâh*, which are not included in this list. The most important of these places are that on Carmel<sup>3</sup> and the shrine near Bêt Djâlâ. The latter is situated on an elevated place between the village and the Pools of Solomon. The beautiful church, which is surrounded by a convent, lies in a village, bearing the name of el-Ḥaḍr. The inhabitants of the settlement are all Mohammedans. The whole area around the sanctuary used to belong to the convent, which is directly dependent on the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem. A large part of the sanctuary was rebuilt a few years before the war. This change is of great importance, as good rooms were constructed for the insane,<sup>4</sup> and thus a large part of the old practice in curing the afflicted was changed. We shall describe the way in which the patients used to be treated before this change took place.

As the reputation of the wonderful cures of this saint spread all over the country, sick of all creeds were brought to it from all directions. No sooner did they arrive than the priest chained them in the narthex in front of the church. The heavy iron chain was fastened to an iron ring around the neck of the unfortunate creature, the other end of the chain being drawn through one of the two windows, on each side of the main portal, and fastened inside the

<sup>1</sup> There is a chain for the *madjânîn*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kahle, *PJB* VI, 89; Graf Mülinen *ZDPV* XXX, 88.

<sup>3</sup> Called by some Mâr Eliâs.

<sup>4</sup> The present government has forbidden the acceptance of insane in this place.

church. In case three patients were sent at the same time the third one was placed in a small room built just west of the dome. The chain in this case went through a small window of the dome thus connecting the patient with the church. During the cold winter months the patients were kept inside the church.

The following story, taken from the written notes of my father, beautifully illustrates the strong belief in the miracles of St. George, and shows how such ideas are propagated by the priests themselves. The Greek Orthodox priest Ibrâhîm el-'Awwâ<sup>1</sup> went as usual on Saturday afternoon, accompanied by Ishâq Tûmâ<sup>2</sup> to the convent of St. George to read the night and the Sunday morning masses. They found there a furious and mentally abnormal Bedouin *šêh* of the Tayâhâ tribe, chained in the church. His condition was so bad that he tore all his clothes. Whatever the *raiys* (director) of the convent put on him was soon torn to pieces. As the priest with his assistant Ishâq got up during the night to perform their duty, they beheld the shadow of a human being moving cautiously on the roof of the church. Frightened, they awoke the monk. A thorough investigation showed that the naked *šêh* was crouching in one corner, shivering with cold and extremely exhausted. At once the superior of the convent gave him clothes, and, taking him into a room made a fire and began to rub him until he felt better. The *raiys* asked the *šêh* how he got out of the church, while the doors were still locked. He answered: a gentle looking man, with a spear in his hand, riding on a horse, appeared to me and ordered me: "Get up and go to your tribe." He touched the chain with his spear and it fell of my neck. I climbed up the chain from which the church lamp hung. Swinging myself to and fro I reached a window in the dome of the church from which I got out. The *šêh* was absolutely normal from that moment. He pledged himself to offer yearly seven goats to his healer, el-Ḥadr, which promise he is said to have kept.<sup>3</sup>

The patients received no medical treatment at all, but had to be cured by the miraculous intervention of St. George. The *raiys* of the church found it very often necessary to hasten the cure by

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<sup>1</sup> From Bêt Djâlâ.

<sup>2</sup> From Bêt Djâlâ. He was ordained later as a priest.

<sup>3</sup> Told my father by the above-mentioned priest Ishâq Tûmâ.

driving out the devil. This was done by thorough beatings and prayers. No wonder that these poor creatures were furious when the priest fell into their clutches. Whenever a patient's condition got somewhat normal the priest secretly unfastened the chain from the church, and told the patient that the saint declared him cured.

Only a simple straw mattress was given them. The two who were bound in front of the church had not the least protection from the frightful summer heat or the cold of the winter. Their food consisted of bread—sometimes very hard—and water. Both were given to a very limited extent. The odor of their evacuations used to make the place unsupportable.

At present the sanatorium is built a short distance south of the church. It is composed of twelve rooms, in each of which there is a chain, firmly fastened to the wall. The hygienic conditions of this place are in every respect better than in the old system. This new hospital was connected when I saw it last by a wire to the church. Thus the healing power of the saint is transmitted to the sick.

An analysis of the above-described treatment is of great interest. The sick are placed in the direct neighbourhood of the saint, to be near his blessing and his field of action; the chains transmit the curing power. As soon as the hospital was removed to a distance a connecting wire was run between it and the church to carry the saint's miraculous power. Prayers and beatings are the best way of driving away a devil. This practice is still common among the *šiyûh*. Whenever a sick person shows any nervous symptoms like hysterical fits, apoplexy, epilepsy and even convulsions resulting from fever a *šêh* is called for treatment. He writes a talisman, recites prayers, spits on the patient and massages the body.<sup>1</sup> This massage is always done in such a way that the hand of the *šêh* moves from the upper parts of the body downwards. The reason for this direction of movement is that the devil should be massaged out from the important organs to the less important ones and eventually be thrown

<sup>1</sup> An insane girl, who received no help from all the consulted physicians, went to a Chaldean priest. He, after fasting three days and three nights, made the sick child kneel down and pray with him, and behold a cloud of smoke came out of her mouth, while she lost consciousness. The priest put her in a bath and began to massage her. The moment she awoke she was cured.

out of the body through the lower extremities.<sup>1</sup> The massage developes in most cases to violent beatings, which may be carried out with the hand, with a stick, shoe<sup>2</sup> or even with a holy object, like the wooden shoe of the Madjdûb.

It is easier to drive out devils when the bodily condition of the possessed person is at the lowest.<sup>3</sup> It is a common belief that the *djinn* prefer well-built, corpulent patients. This explains why the patients are fed so badly. Neglect of cleanliness leads to the same result.<sup>4</sup>

(To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> A demon in an important organ causes much more harm than in an unimportant one. Massaging a demon upwards may cause an irreparable weakness in the heart, eyes, tongue, brain, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See the case described in *Aberglaube*, pp. 117f.

<sup>3</sup> This is an older belief; see *at-Tuhfatu l-Mardîyah*, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See on this subject also Stephan, "Lunacy in Palestinian Folklore," *JPOS* V pp. 1—16, on which the following remarks may be made:—It would have been more helpful if the original meanings and uses of all the synonyms on pp. 2 and 3 had been given.—I do not think that "lunacy is considered as something divine" (p. 2). On the contrary it is at present regarded, as it used to be in Biblical times, as the work of Satan. Although *madjdûb* is used at present for a beginning lunacy, its real meaning is quite different from *madjnûn*.—The real causes of lunacy following the writing of a *sihir* (and such sorcery is called *sihir aswad*), drinking of spirits (p. 6, footnotes 3, 4), or *coitus nudus* (p. 7) are nothing but the *djinn* and should not be put in another category.

## HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN KEFAR-YASIF

J. BEN ZVI  
(JERUSALEM)

**F**EW remember Kefar-Yasif as the place of a Jewish agricultural settlement. Only the older people among the Sephardim of Acre and Haifa could tell about the "Holy Community" of Kefar-Yasif with its synagogue and Yeshiba (Talmudic college). The two buildings were preserved until about two or three generations ago, and the ancient cemetery is still in existence, its open spaces being reserved for the graves of the notables of the congregation of Acre.

The village known among the Arabs as Kafr-Yasif is situated an hour and a quarter's ride from Acre, a distance of eight or nine kilometres. During my last stay in Acre I decided to visit the village and examine its ancient remains. A quarter of an hour's ride brought us to the village of Manshie. The road crosses the plain, between fields and orchards. White villages appear in the distance, upon the slopes of the mountains of Galilee. Straight toward the east one can see the little Mohammedan village of Makr and close to it, south-east, another small village called El-Djdeideh, with a mixed, Christian and Moslem, population.

On both sides of the road, near Kefar-Yasif, extends an ancient grove of olive-trees. The appearance of the trees testifies to an age of hundreds of years. North of the grove one sees the white houses of the Mohammedan village Kuweitat.

At the end of the grove was revealed an imposing sight—Kefar-Yasif beautifully situated on the top of the mountain. The village covers a large area; the fine high stone houses appear one above another in a glory of colours, their flat roofs proudly rising upon



the slopes of the mountain. From afar, in the burning sunlight, the village looks charming; it reminds one of the general views of Safed, Salt or Nazareth.

Before the village entrance, to the right of the road, we discovered the Jewish Cemetery. It is very impressive, in its strange surroundings, far away from any Jewish settlement. The cemetery extends between the grove of olive-trees on the one side, and the houses of the village on the other. It occupies a very large plot, all strewn with monuments, tablets, and fragments of slabs—remainders of what had once been monuments. One can easily see from the size of the cemetery that entire generations had found their rest there.

The cemetery has neither fence nor wall.

Only a few monuments have preserved their inscriptions. The majority, chiefly the most ancient monuments, in the background of the cemetery have lost all trace of the characters formerly engraved upon them. The following is an inscription found on one of them: "Here lie the mortal remains of Signor Abraham Finzy, who died at an early age on the 14<sup>th</sup> of the month of Rahamim (i. e. the month of Elul), in the year A. M. 5637" (1877); there is an Arabic translation below.

This person seems to have belonged to the family of the British consul Signor Finzy, who supplied Sir Moses Montefiore with information concerning Kefar-Yasif and other surrounding villages during the latter's visit to the country in 1839. In the "Memoirs" of Lady Judith Montefiore, Signor Finzy relates: "There are also a few Jews in Kefar-Yasif and Shef-Amar; they pay taxes to the government in the form of wheat, barley, and money, as it used to be of old."

Close by there are later monuments dated 1881, 1892, 1901, 1902 A.D. Obviously all these graves belong to the period when the Jewish settlement in Kefar-Yasif was already extinct, and here are buried members of the community of Acre. Significant in this respect are the modern monuments, such as the one of the "honourable woman Masal," bearing a small hexagonal star of David and dated 1921. It is evident that the custom of burying there the dead from Acre, at least those belonging to important families, has survived until to-day. On my return to Acre, the Jews confirmed the fact that even at the present time the custom is preserved by all well-to-do

families able to afford the expense of a burial in a remote place. They rely on the common belief that Acre belongs to the Holy Land only by reason of its having been conquered by the Jews returning from Egypt; and that, as it had not been reconquered after the Babylonian Captivity, its holiness is impaired. On the other hand it is clear that Kefar-Yasif had been included in the inheritance of "the Tribes of God" (the tribe of Asher), and its holiness is incontestable.<sup>1</sup>

The Yeshiba was situated somewhere near the cemetery, and the Genizah is found in the cemetery itself. The ruins of the synagogue are elsewhere in the village.

We were received as guests at the house of the sheikh. Scattered memories about the Jewish settlement in the village have been preserved there until to-day. A few years ago there died the oldest inhabitant of the village, one Habib, who remembered the Jews, but none now living in the village remembers them.<sup>2</sup> However, some of them know descendants of the Jews who had lived in Kefar-Yasif and are now scattered in Acre, Haifa, Tiberias and elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> The Talmud (*Gittin* 71) states in a general way: "We learned in a Baraita.—What is considered part of the Holy Land and what outside its boundaries? All of the land sloping from the hills of Ammon (Amana) and in front of them, is considered the Holy Land. From the hills of Ammon and beyond them is considered outside the Holy Land."—From the remarks of the Talmud it appears that between Acre and El-Zib there was a stretch of unholy land, i. e. land free from the offerings and the tithes, as the Gemara states on the preceding page, according to the emendations of Lunz (Yerushalmi, *Shevi'ith* VI, and *Tosefta Ohaloth*): "If one walked from Acre to Zib, on his left hand to the west—the road is considered unholy because it was part of the land of the Gentiles and was free from tithes and from the laws of the Sabbatical year . . . On his right hand, to the east, the land is part of the Holy Land and is subject to the laws of tithes and the Sabbatical year." As far as Acre itself is concerned opinions vary; according to Maimonides (*Teruma* I, 9) Acre is outside the Holy Land like Ashkelon, thus marking the boundary of Eretz Yisrael. But this may be taken to mean that this applies only so far as the Biblical laws of tithes, etc., are concerned. See "Kaftor wa Perach."—Ed. Lunz, p. 276-277; also "Tebuoth Haarez" by R. J. Schwarz, ed. Lunz, p. 8, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> I was told by Mr. J. Braslavsky, who had visited the village at the beginning of 1924, that he met an old fellah from Kefar Yasif. The man told him that a few years ago he came across an old Jew from Tiberias who mentioned the names of people in his village. The fellah was very much surprised that a Jew from Tiberias should know Kefar Yasif so well. The old Jew explained that he was born himself in Kefar Yasif and spent his childhood there.

I passed all through the village and visited the ancient mosaic floor, near the threshing ground; it belongs apparently to the Byzantine period. Nobody, however, could show me the "menorah," supposed to be engraved upon a stone of one of the houses in the village.<sup>1</sup>

When did the last Jewish settlement in Kefar-Yasif begin? Who was its founder? How did it originate, and how was it abolished? These questions occupied my mind on my way back from Kefar-Yasif. And as neither the inhabitants of the village nor the Jews of Acre proved able to help me, I looked for other sources of information. Although materials for the history of the Jewish settlement in the country are very scarce, sufficient material remains to provide a clear picture of the beginnings of the Jewish settlement in Kefar-Yasif.

Local tradition—Jewish as well as Arab—attributes the foundation of the village to Flavius Josephus, who received the place as a gift from the emperor Vespasian Joseph's village. It was therefore called "Kefar-Joseph." It is impossible to support this tradition. Josephus himself does not mention the name. He speaks, however, of Kefar-Acco (Καφαρεκχώ), as one of the villages fortified against the Romans, and it is possible that he so named Kefar-Joseph. (*Wars* II, ch. XX 6.) This actual Kefar-Acco is mentioned a few times in the Talmud; e. g.: "We learned in the Mishna: a city that provides five hundred to one thousand footmen, such as Kefar Acco." (*Taanith* XXI 1.) As for the name itself it is spelled in Arabic كفر ياسيف, which may be a transliteration of the Hebrew "Yosef."

<sup>1</sup> Mr. I. Braslavsky, in his article in the "Journal of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society," gives the following description of the mosaic floor and the menorah: "The small stones (of the floor) are black, red, yellow, and white. The frame is made up of interwoven geometrical designs and ornaments. The floor itself is composed of slabs displaying figures of doves, serpents, glasses, divers kinds of fruit, a star of David, and other symbolic images. A few inter-twined crosses betray the hand of the Christian restorer." (Vol. I, book 2, p. 139.) And here is the description of the menorah: "At the northern end of the village, above the door of a fellah's house, in the wall, I found a stone showing in relief a Jewish *menorah*. It had a three legged stand, similar to illustration 291 in *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, Kohl und Watzinger, Leipzig 1916. At the side of the *menorah* there is a palm branch. Both are enclosed in a circle. The workmanship is crude. This relic testifies to the existence of a Jewish settlement at the period of the ancient Galilean Synagogues." (*Ibid.*)

There are various versions of the Hebrew spelling of the word. Rabbi Joseph Schwarz writes: "Kefar-Yosif,"<sup>1</sup> Rabbi Joseph Sofer<sup>2</sup> "the city or village of Yosef;" on the other hand the author of "Ahavath Zion,"<sup>3</sup> and after him the author of "Hibbath Jerusalem,"<sup>4</sup> read "Kefar Yasibh." In the certificates mentioned below, the name is spelt with *samekh* instead of *tsadi*, with *alef* before the *samekh*.

Yet we must not place much value on these sources, since their authors were not well versed in Arabic and relied on their perception of the current pronunciation.

Rabbi J. Schwarz and Colonel Conder try to associate this Kefar-Yasif with Achshaph. But the editor of "Tebuoth Haarez" and, after him, Rabbi J. S. Horowitz in his recent "Eretz Israel u-Shekhēnotheha" (Palestine and the Adjacent Countries) maintained that there was no ground for this, since Achshaph was situated in the inheritance of Asher towards the south, in the Valley of Jezreel, near Madon and Shimron (Josh. 11 1-2).

We find the form *Yasuf* (which is the same as *Kiriath Sufa*) in Samaritan sources ("Une nouvelle Chronique Samaritaine," edited by Adler, R. E. J. 1903) "The Samaritan book of Joshua," and "Tolida." One must not, however, identify *Yasuf* with Kefar Yasif, since the Samaritan "*Yasuf*" is supposed to have been situated in the stretch of land between the valley of Jezreel and Judea. (This may be the same as Hirbeth "*Asufa*" in Wadi Sumeil, or "*Jhufa*" in Wadi el-Gamus.) Kefar-Yasif may be identified, instead, with Joshua's Hosah in the inheritance of Asher (Josh. 19 29), for which LXX (B) reads Ἰασείφ. From the neighbouring Tyre and Achzib we may conclude that Hosah (or the Yasif of the Septuagint) and Kefar Yasif are identical; and it is possible that at the time of Josephus Kefar Yasif was also known as Kefar Acco.

Judging by the engraved menorah and shofar, which are remnants of an old synagogue of the Talmudic period, as well as by the above mentioned mosaic, we must come to the conclusion that the Jewish settlement in the ancient Yasif had continued for centuries.

<sup>1</sup> "Tebuoth Haarez," Jerusalem 1900, p. 8 and 230.

<sup>2</sup> "Eduth Biyehosef," Frankfurt 1798.

<sup>3</sup> "Ahavath Zion" or "Sippurei Erez Hakedosha" by Simcha bar Yoshua, who visited Palestine in the year 1764.

<sup>4</sup> "Hibbath Jerusalem" by Hayim Horowitz, Jerusalem, 1844.



According to the last census taken by Government (Oct. 23, 1922), the village counted 870 inhabitants, 665 being Christians and the rest Mohammedans (172) and Druses (33). About 90% of the Christians are Orthodox (511), while the others are Anglicans (79), Latin Uniats (6), one Latin and two Maronites. Thirty-five years before this census, Schumacher counted 182 families in Kefar Yasif, which is nearly equivalent to the present number. According to an estimate made in 1877 there were 500 inhabitants, 300 Christians, 150 Mohammedans and 50 Druses.

According to the letters printed by Mr. Ephraim Deinard, at the beginning of the war of 1914—1918, in a collection by the name of "Shibbolim Bodedoth,"<sup>1</sup> there was in Kefar-Yasif, in 1747, a Jewish settlement counting eleven men, or, rather, heads of families, which means about 45—50 people. The letters bear signatures of heads of families, and many of those names are well known in the cities of Palestine even to day.<sup>2</sup>

How did the Jewish settlement in Kefar-Joseph revive? Different passages of the main letter show that there had formerly been a Jewish settlement there and that it disappeared only a few years before the event we are considering now.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shibbolim Bodedoth. "A collection of articles, original and printed, documents, notes, poems, lamentations etc., lost during many centuries." By Ephraim Deinard. 100 copies printed at Jerusalem in the year 5675 (i. e. 1915) in the days of trouble and war. Printed by A. M. Lunz. The collection of letters contains the following documents: (a) A letter of recommendation to Rabbi Shelomo Abadie, in the year 5507 (1747), followed by five *haskamoth*; (b) the *haskamah* of the chief of the Rabbinical Court of Egypt, Rabbi Shelomo Algasi, 5509; (c) those of the rabbis of Aram-Zoba, Rabbi Shmuel Bechmar Shelomo Laniado and Rabbi Joseph, son of Mordecai Hadayan, 5508; (d) of the chief of the rabbinical Court of Smyrna, Rabbi Itzhaq Cohen, 5513; (e) of the rabbis of Constantinople; (f) of the officers of Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed and Tiberias at present in the city of Constantinople 5508.

<sup>2</sup> The following are the names signed: *Jacob Son of Mordecai Ya'ish, Abraham Bechar Yeshaya, Haim Shemuel, Simeon Duulik Hakohen, Bechor Semuel Nahon, Ezra Shemuel, Ishaya Bechar Abraham, Itzhaq Bechar Ephraim, Mordecai, Jacob Yaanish (Ya'ish), Shemuel Bechar Mordecai Mizrahi, and Rabbi Shelomo Abadie*, to whom the letters are addressed. It is worth noticing that the name *Dweik* is well known in Tiberias and Pekiin.

<sup>3</sup> "...Indeed it (the city) is sorrowful and deserted, for *famine has been in the land those five years*, people eat their own flesh." And further: "It is well known that in the olden times the above mentioned holy place had been adorned as a bride with *synagogues and Talmudic schools* for his everlasting



Here, however, we shall dwell mainly on the revival of the settlement and its causes. The original text runs: "There is jubilation and rejoicing in the land, for the Lord has turned his eyes toward it, even as it has been mentioned in the letter, and has put it into the heart of the ruler of the land to speak thus: Hasten and come to the land of your fathers, stay there and take care of it, pray to the Lord in the synagogues and schools, settle in the Holy Land; may the wise man hearken and understand and increase his knowledge..." The reference to "the letter" deserves special attention, since it may offer us a clue to the whole matter. Apparently it refers to the well known letter of the famous sheikh Dahir el-Omar, of whom it is related that in 1738 he sent the following letter to Rabbi Haim Abu Elatia in Smyrna "Come and take possession of the district of Tiberias which had been the land of your fathers." ("Zimrath Haarez.")<sup>1</sup>

One can gather from writers closely connected with this period<sup>2</sup> that the ruler of Safed, Dahir el-Omar, from the tribe of Beni Zeidan, conquered Tiberias in 1737; he then carried on a successful defensive war against the Pasha of Damascus, and finally extended his power over all Galilee. Five years later, attacked by the new Pasha of Damascus, Suleiman Assim Dahir was again successful. The Pasha died during the siege, and his army returned to Damascus. Dahir enlarged the boundaries of his dominion. About 1741—1745 he placed his head-quarters at Shef Amar (Shef-Omar); he was eager, however, to get a footing on the sea-shore to assure the possibility of a foreign trade and at the same time secure an important strategic point. The energetic Sheikh Dahir obtained his heart's desire: in 1749 he found an opportunity to attack the Agha (military governor) of Acre, who was there on behalf of the Pasha of Sidon, and capture

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glory... And now it is entirely deserted. Help us, O brethren, children of Israel, to restore *the ancient glory*... Help those who mount the holy guard by studying the Law day and night."

<sup>1</sup> Printed for the first time in Mantova in 5505 (1745) and again in Livorno in 1820; later, the statement about Tiberias appeared under the name of "Ness Tiberiah" in Lunz's *Luah*, first year, 1895, Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> Volney, *Etat politique de la Syrie*, III. The book appeared also in English and German translations; its English title is *Travels through Syria and Egypt*, London 1805. К. М. Базили, Сирия и Палестина под турецким владычеством. The latter book is based not only on previous travellers' relations, such as Pococke's etc., but also on Arabic manuscripts, such as the Family Chronicle of the Shahabs, rulers of the Lebanon.

the city. At that time Acre was half devastated. Dahir rebuilt the city and fortified it by means of a stronghold and walls, thus consolidating his position and opening up an opportunity for sea-trade.

The author of "Zimrath-Haaretz" related that before Dahir "all the roads were perilous: travelling was impossible, except by groups of fifty armed horsemen—so great was the fear of highwaymen and robbers. But at the time of that sheikh the land knew peace and rest . . . And now people travel back and forth, with money tied up in their garments, and no one harms them; and so everybody bows before him, because he has filled with awe the highwaymen and destroyed many of the children of Kedar, who dwell in tents and are robbers and plunderers."

Under Dahir the Jewish Tiberias was rebuilt by Rabbi Haim Abulafia, the grand-son of Rabbi Jacob Abulafia, as is explained in "Zimrath Haaretz": "During two years he (the sheikh) built houses and courts for the Jews; he built a beautiful synagogue, the equal of which was not to be found in the Holy Land, and he also built a fine bath-house, and stores for the market-days, and an oil-press house for sesame oil; he began to build roads, and also ordered the planting of the fields and the vineyards."

Hence we see that the Sheikh, who favoured the Jewish settlement, paid special attention to the promotion of agriculture. Beside the rebuilding of Tiberias, another Jewish settlement in Shefaram<sup>1</sup> was revived with the help of Dahir; the work was accomplished by the above mentioned Rabbi Haim Abulafia, at the same time and under the same sheikh.

It is evident, therefore, that the expression "as was mentioned in the letter" refers to the letter of Sheikh Dahir to Rabbi Haim Abulafia, and the "ruler" is no doubt Sheikh Dahir himself.

It is also evident that the fact of Kefar-Yasif being built by Sheikh Dahir does not exclude the possibility of a previous Jewish settlement there. At least, as far as Tiberias and Shafaram are concerned, we know certainly that there had been a previous Jewish settlement. Tiberias, with all its buildings, was in existence until two generations previous to Rabbi Haim Abulafia, and there had

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the article "Pekiin and Shefaram" in Lunz's *Luah*, Fifth Year; and also "The Jewish Settlement in the Village of Beltün" by the present writer.

been a Jewish settlement and a synagogue at Shafaram (see "Geliloth Haarez") at the time of the Emir Fahir ed-Din (died in 1634). On the same analogy we can assume that there had also been an old Jewish settlement in Kefar-Yasif. Two passages in the above mentioned letter confirm this conjecture ("For many years people have neither dwelt nor passed by there;" the place "had been adorned as a bride with synagogues and schools"—see foot-note 3, p. 209). It is not improbable, therefore, that an old Jewish settlement had continued for generations until recent times. One thing however is certain: five years before the rebuilding of the settlement by Rabbi Shelomo Abadie there had been a Jewish settlement, equipped with synagogues and schools.

The above mentioned letter enumerates several holy graves near Kefar-Yasif. Many of these are not genuine and are shown elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Two of them, however, seem to have a historic value—the grave of Rabbi Moshe Haim Luzzato and that of Rabbi Moshe Malchi. R. Moshe Haim Luzzato died from the pestilence in Acre, on the 26th of the month Iyar, 5506. Luzzato maintains that he was buried in Tiberias, the exact place remaining unknown (Kivrei Eretz Hazevi, "Jerusalem," V, 1), but this has not been proved. Indeed, one would rather think that, being a most famous writer and Rabbi, Luzzato was, according to the local custom of Acre, buried in Kefar-Yasif. Moreover, as the letter was written only about a year after the event, the information must be true. It is equally beyond doubt that "the illustrious Rabbi Moshe Malchi," brother of Rabbi Raphael Mordecai Malchi<sup>2</sup> had been buried there. Rabbi Moshe Malchi died a few years before Rabbi M. H. Luzzato. We cannot, however, tell whether he lived in Kefar-Yasif or was, like R. Luzzato, brought there only to be buried.

The important document which we are discussing throws a sufficient light on the value of Kefar-Yasif as a settlement: "At this time

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<sup>1</sup> Such as the grave of the prophet Elisha, shown also on Mount Carmel (see "Kivrei Erez Hazevi," I, ed. Luzzato, Jerusalem), the graves of R. Ami and R. Yehuda Ben Baba (shown likewise between Usha and Shafaram). The letter also considers Kefar-Yasif the burial place of Ibn Ezra and Shelomo Ben Gabriol—groundlessly, of course.

<sup>2</sup> "Fragments" of the manuscript of the latter's commentaries on the *Torah* were edited by Mr. Eliezer Rivlin, Jerusalem 1923.

many people gather to study the Law. They come to the beautiful place God had chosen, which is Kefar Yasibh, may it be rebuilt within all its boundaries speedily, in our days. May the name of the Lord be glorified there, *at is was of old*. The land has returned to its former master for ever and ever."

And further on the letter reads: "We have come to proclaim before the holy assembly that the Lord has inspired a godly man, the wise, and accomplished Cabalist, Rabbi Shelomo Abadie . . . And he came to the above mentioned holy place and chose it because of the beauty of the place; he also came to an understanding with the ruler, so that from every rich man who shall come to settle there, the ruler may receive three gold coins; from every ordinary man—two, and from every poor men one gold coin; and the Rabbi untied his purse and built a synagogue at his own cost. He also found favour with the ruler who promised him by letter, namely, that upon every one who wishes to settle in the above mentioned holy place, Kefar Yasibh, will be imposed only the above mentioned sum yearly, the whole being vouched for and warranted by the ruler. And when we saw the greatness of God's deeds and his favour, we, the undersigned, agreed with the above mentioned wise and accomplished man and settled down because we saw that the above mentioned holy place was beautiful, not speaking of its being free from the Angel of Death, as well as from all subjection to the government; moreover, it is situated near Acre, which is under "Franco" (European) consuls. We said therefore, it is not time for silence now, etc." On the score of all this, the undersigned (see foot-note 2, p. 209) invite the people of Israel and the rabbis to contribute to the building of the synagogue and the completion of the Talmudic academy.

We can easily picture those eleven pioneers who settled two hundred years ago in the Arab village, and built an academy and a synagogue in the hope that the people of Israel, far from forsaking them, would help them in the completion of their work and the promotion of their settlement. Their choice was determined by four reasons: (a) the natural beauty of the place and its healthfulness ("free from the Angel of Death"); (b) safety from the impudence of the high officials, as well as Sheikh Dahir's (the "ruler's") protection; (c) the vicinity of the Jewish settlement of Acre and the protection of the "French," or rather European, representatives;



(d) the tradition of the holy graves and of the ancient settlement in that place.

The letter concludes with an energetic appeal to each man in Israel, wealthy as well as poor, to contribute to the holy enterprise by "taking care of the students of the Law and the building of the synagogue and the Talmudic Academy." (The building of an Academy is previously mentioned; apparently the Yeshiba was existing already, but its building was not complete). The letter contains an address made by Rabbi Shelomo Abadie, founder of the settlement in Kefar-Yasif, whose mission it was "to promote the holy place Kefar-Yasibh, and to keep alive many people."

"Whoever would live in the Land, at the above mentioned holy place, let him come and *settle on the land*; since all his wants will be satisfied, let him stay there and eat and live for ever." In the last lines we already discern the ideal urging every Jew, generation after generation, to return to his fatherland and settle there.

The result of R. Shelomo Abadie's long journey for the sake of the settlement at Kefar-Yasif is unknown. He started, apparently, at the beginning of the year 5508 (1748); that same year we find him in Aleppo and in Constantinople; next year in Egypt, and four years later, in 5513 (1753)—perhaps it was on another trip—in Smyrna. There is no doubt that the Jewish settlement in Kefar Yasif prospered. As is proved by various literary sources, the new settlement lasted for at least a hundred years. We do not possess any systematic material, but, from time to time, the Kefar Yasif settlement is mentioned. Thus Rabbi Joseph Sopher from Brody, Galicia, visited the country about fifteen years after the foundation of the settlement in Kefar Yasif and "corrected there many books (rolls) of the Land." This implies the existence of a considerable community in 1760—1762 at the time of his visit. The same author mentions the pestilence which broke out during his stay in Acre, and he tells how the dead were carried a distance of an hour and a half from Acre and buried in "Yosef." Some three years later, in 1765, Rabbi Simchah Ben Yehoshua gives us more interesting details in his book "Ahavath Zion."<sup>1</sup> He relates that "at two hours

<sup>1</sup> This book appeared as a pamphlet under the title of "Sipurei Erez Hagalil"; the editor added to it parts of a more ancient composition, by a Karaite tourist. Our quotation, however, gives the original part of R. Simchah's narrative.



distance from Acre there is the village Yathzibh, with a few Jews in it, about twenty of them (i. e. twenty heads of families) and they are *tillers of the soil*; the land is really part of the Holy Land, and the dead are carried from Acre to the above mentioned village. If it is impossible, however, to bring the body there because the death occurred on a Saturday, or because of any other impediment, the burial takes place at the cemetery of Acre." Such is the testimony of the author of "Ahavath Zion." About sixty or seventy years later, Rabbi Haim Ben David Horowitz writes in his book "Hibbath Yerushalaim":<sup>1</sup> "God be thanked, there are still a few Jews there." The description does not apply to the year the book was printed (1844), but to a previous period, for Rabbi H. Horowitz immigrated in 1832, and spent twelve years in visiting, exploring and studying the country, his book being the result of all his studies and personal experiences. The author tries, unsuccessfully, to identify Kefar-Yasif with Zif. In the supplement to the "Memoirs" of Lady Judith Montefiore we find a better picture drawn by Signor Finzy (British Vice-Consul in Acre) in 1839. He tells how the Jews of Shefaram and *Kefar-Yassiv* pay taxes to the government in the form of "*wheat, barley, and money*, as is the custom," which proves that near the forties there was still existing a Jewish settlement in Kefar-Yasif, as well as in Shafaram; it was entirely or partially an agricultural settlement, and the taxes were paid in kind, according to custom. Soon, however, the settlement disappeared. Here is the trustworthy testimony of Rabbi Joseph Schwarz in "Tebuoth Haarez" (1844—1845): "And now there are no children of our people there; indeed it is only a short time since the settlement has come to an end and the synagogue is still there."<sup>2</sup>

This is the last we hear of the Jewish settlement that had continued for a hundred years (1747—1840). Its end occurred at the time of the last war of Ibrahim Pasha with Turkey, or immediately afterwards, when the Holy Land was reconquered by Turkey (1841). Ibrahim Pasha's reforms and arrangements concerning the taxes and military service aroused the resentment of the effendis and certain heads of families who did not wish to submit to government control,

<sup>1</sup> "Hibbath Yerushalaim," Jerusalem 1844, ch. "*Hof-Hayam*."

<sup>2</sup> "Tebuoth Haaretz," ch. III, p. 203, "*Achshaph*."

and a series of seditions broke out. The Druzes and Bedouin, and also the Metuwali, revolted and invaded and plundered the cities. The Jews suffered from these invasions more than the other inhabitants. We may assume that the entire lack of security during the war troubles made an end of the Jewish settlement; though it can equally well be explained by the heavy taxes and the economic pressure.

The latter explanation is supported by the example of the Jewish agricultural settlements in Pekiin and Shafaram. According to the inhabitants of Pekiin, their hardships, after the Turkish conquest, were so great that they could not pay the tithes nor the other crop taxes, the amount of which was constantly increasing. Many of the ancient families of Pekiin had to leave the village and sell their land to their Gentile neighbours; some of them simply abandoned their property and settled in the cities. The same thing happened in Shafaram.<sup>1</sup> These two settlements, however, survived the crisis; they were rebuilt and strengthened by new settlers from Morocco and Persia.<sup>2</sup> Kefar-Yasif alone was not rebuilt: no fresh forces in the shape of new immigrants came to revive the old settlement; and it perished utterly.

Since then no one tried to renew the settlement in Kefar-Yasif. The ancient cemetery in the only bond between the Jews and Kefar-Yasif. A few years ago, the Jewish Colonial Association bought some ground to enlarge the cemetery for the needs of the Acre community.

It is curious to notice that although eighty years have elapsed since the entire extinction of the settlement, traces of it can be detected among the inhabitants of the village. Dr. Eliash has kindly supplied me with some information derived from Mr. Jirius Khuri of Jerusalem, originally from Kefar-Joseph. There is a special quarter in Kefar-Joseph, known as حارة اليهود. The Jewish houses can be recognized by their low doors, a precaution dictated by the needs of self-defence. The Arabs dislike speaking of the former Jewish settlement. They have preserved the Jewish houses but

<sup>1</sup> See "Pekiin and Shafaram" in "*Luah Erez Israel*," Fifth Year, ed. A. M. Lunz.

<sup>2</sup> See "The Jewish Settlement in the Village of Pekiin," by J. Ben Zvi.

have destroyed every stone or relic bearing a trace of the Jewish past.

Such is the brief history of this solitary Jewish settlement, far away in the mountains of the Upper Galilee, surrounded and oppressed by savage enemies, but remaining faithful to its people, its Law, and its hopes.

## BOOK REVIEWS

GUSTAV DALMAN, *Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästina*. Pp. 158 (4 to) with folding map of Palestine. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1925. Price 20 marks (25 marks bound).

Professor DALMAN celebrates his seventieth birthday by the publication of a book that really marks an epoch in the geographical study of Bible Lands. In this beautiful volume we have a hundred superb air photographs of Palestinian landscapes, perfectly reproduced on thick white paper, and accompanied by topographical explanations from the most competent authority in the world. The explanations are as clear and precise as the illustrations, while every spot mentioned can be located exactly by anyone, thanks to a sheet of thin celluloid ruled with coördinates, which is attached to the book by a ribbon. The clarity of the result will be a revelation to all; air photographs frequently are far superior to even the best map in enabling the student to understand the detailed topography of a district, while they also replace, to a considerable extent, horizontal photographs in making it possible to visualize a landscape. The archaeologist will appreciate the difference between artificial mounds and natural hills even more clearly after looking at the photographic appearance of Tell en-Naşbeh, Tell es-Sultân, Tell el-Qôqa', etc. The improbability of the identification of er-Rumeideh with the earliest Hebron, already sufficiently proved by the negative results of a direct examination, becomes even clearer when one examines No. 35.

Nearly all of the photographs are from Central Palestine, but there is also a fine series showing the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, and a number from the Mediterranean coast, as well as from Transjordan and Damascus. It is a pity that none were available from the region of Shechem and Samaria. The Palestine Department of Antiquities has a large collection of English air photographs from

different parts of Palestine, but most of them are distinctly inferior to the German. The excellence attained in this particular field by the German experts during the war is well-known.

Professor DALMAN's comments hardly furnish opportunity for criticism, since he restricts himself to a topographic description, with only the most necessary identifications and reference to contrary opinions when they seem to have any weight. His spelling of Arabic place-names has become nearly perfect with the years, and can hardly be improved on. With regard to identifications there is naturally some room for difference of opinion, but DALMAN never calls an identification certain unless it is actually so. Unlike many scholars, he is always perfectly willing to change his opinion when a better suggestion is made, or new material is found. Would that such loyalty to truth were characteristic of all students of the Ancient East!

In addition to the collection of a hundred photographs with explanatory text, there are several valuable appendices. Pater MADER, well-known for his topographical and archaeological investigations, has contributed a useful catalogue of the entire collection of air photographs from Palestine in the Bavarian military archive, 1236 in all. In addition he has given a very useful introduction to the study of this material (pp. 113—119), which should be read first by those who employ the book. There is further a short account (pp. 120—123) of the activities of the Bavarian flying squadron in Palestine during 1917—1918. The book closes with a very complete topographical index and a valuable survey map of Palestine by the cartographer W. GOERING. Nothing is thus lacking to make the book as useful as possible.

Our volume should be in the hands of all who study the geography or topography of Palestine. It ought also to be in the possession of every library and school where Bible is taught. Even if German is not read with ease, the book can be used profitably, since the proper names in the titles are at least as intelligible in a German book as in one written in another language. We congratulate the author and the publishers on the production of an extraordinarily handsome and useful book.

W. F. ALBRIGHT



OTTO EISSFELDT, *Die Quellen des Richterbuches*. Pp. X + 116 + 66\* (8vo). Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1925. Price 10.50 marks bound.

This book is the continuation of Professor EISSFELDT's *Hexateuch-Synopse* (Leipzig, 1922), but contains a much more elaborate introduction, as might be expected from the nature of the subject. The analysis of the book of Judges is the most serious attempt yet made to divide it between the Pentateuchal sources, of which three, L, J and E, are clearly distinguished, while a number of passages are assigned to RD (Deuteronomic Redactor), as well as to RP (Priestly Redactor). The most noteworthy feature of EISSFELDT's analysis is probably his marked tendency to raise the date of the material contained in the book, and the consequent reduction of RD's share in its composition.

The use of the letter L to designate the source usually called J<sup>1</sup> gives EISSFELDT's work a novel appearance which contrasts with its orthodox methods of documentary criticism. Now that the emphasis in Old Testament scholarship has swung away from documentary analysis to comparative literature and folklore, where the methods employed are not always well-tested, it is a good thing that there are still such careful students as EISSFELDT to continue working in the old fields. Without constant weeding, there is always danger that once well-tilled land will become unproductive. The source analysis of the Pentateuch is the most assured result of modern biblical scholarship; but if its study is neglected there is serious danger that it will become discredited before archaeology is able to bring the full confirmation which we confidently expect.

It is too early to say whether the letter L will be accepted generally. The designation *Laienschrift* (whence "L") for the so-called older Yahwistic (or older Judaic) is coined to indicate the striking contrast existing between the oldest document and the latest, which has long since received the name Priestly Code, employed now by all. But since it goes back to a time when there was as yet little real difference between priests and laity, the term is more than likely to be misleading, and may fail of acceptance on this account. Yet it is hard to think of a more suitable word—one might suggest

"O" (Originalschrift), but there are just as weighty objections to it. At all events, EISSFELDT deserves credit for having probably banished J<sup>1</sup> and J<sup>2</sup> from critical jargon.

EISSFELDT is in sympathy with the methods of folklore analysis, as may be seen from his article in the GUNKEL *Festschrift* and his comments on p. 15 of the present work. He insists repeatedly on the complicated origin of our "sources," which are really collections of traditional pericopes (*Erzählungsgruppen*), often with a long oral history behind them, as in the case of the Joseph and Samson cycles. He justly objects to "throwing out the baby with the bath," as often done by GRESSMANN and others, who disregard the evidence of literary criticism, substituting folklore analysis. However, just as these scholars go too far in one direction, so EISSFELDT, in common with other literary critics, goes too far in the other. As a matter of fact, the criteria are often too tenuous to admit definite conclusions, especially in the case of cycles like the Joseph Story, which undoubtedly had a long and involved oral history before the two recensions of J and E were written down. Some apparent inconsistencies or inequalities in the composite narrative of our Genesis may go back to the original oral story, and thus have no bearing upon the source analysis. This is especially true of the appendices to the Book of Judges, recounting the story of the Danite migration and the civil war between Israel and Benjamin. EISSFELDT divides both up elaborately between L and J (i. e., J<sup>1</sup> and J<sup>2</sup>). A careful study of his analysis convinces us that it is not correct, and that the reviewer's explanation of the origin of the appendices in question is better (see *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, vol. IV, pp. 45 ff.). According to our theory the reminiscences of the Judaic documents are to be explained mainly as due to common folkloristic motives, which led the scribe of the J school who put our appendices into writing to plagiarize the familiar wording of his sources in describing similar episodes.

The composite character of the stories of Gideon, Abimelech and Jephthah is now accepted by all competent Old Testament scholars, though the reviewer doubts the possibility of a definitive analysis. EISSFELDT's division of the material between three sources instead of two does indeed seem to eliminate many difficulties, but it remains to be seen whether increasing complication of analysis will be

favorably received by most scholars, especially since the criteria are in part undeniably subjective.—Our author's analysis of Jud. IV, which he assigns to L and J, does not commend itself, since it hardly seems possible that a redactor can have been so reckless as to fuse a Jabin tradition with a Sisera one, even if we suppose, with him, that a Barak was the principal figure in both, for which there is no evidence. It seems to the reviewer practically certain that the fusion belongs to the oral prehistory of the story, and that J did his best with the contradictory material, presumably increasing the confusion by well-intentioned correction. The prose narrative obviously goes back to the poetic one, but it does not follow that it was composed by any of our source-writers, since its heterogeneity may best be explained, as just noted, by an oral fusion. That there were striking common elements in the Jabin and Sisera stories, through which the fusion was brought about, may safely be assumed. It may be suggested that one common element was the similar rôle of the Kenites, who are mentioned both as being near Kedesh-naphtali and in the vicinity of the battleground of Taanach. In both stories the arch-foe may have been betrayed to Israel by the Kenites.

EISSFELDT stands steadfastly for recognition of the original character of the accounts of Othniel, Shamgar and the minor judges, who have too often been considered as the inventions of the redactor, at least in so far as their historical rôle is concerned. The reviewer considers this result of EISSFELDT's work as resting on an absolutely solid foundation. The historian can only gain from documentary analysis according to EISSFELDT's recipe, which is in such striking contrast to the haphazard methods of BURNEY and other recent students of Judges. We need not "throw the baby out with the bath" and assign editors and redactors so large a rôle in the development of Hebrew historiography that no place remains for genuine old traditions. The reviewer prefers to align himself with the new German school best represented by Professor ALT, and to claim a high measure of historicity for the memories of Israel, rather than with the English school led by Professor COOK, who regards the early historical material in the Old Testament as so secondary in origin and so much manipulated that it is practically unavailable to the historian. From this standpoint, then, we welcome EISSFELDT's book as a most valuable contribution to a difficult subject.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

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<sup>1</sup> This list has been corrected up to December 31 st, 1925. Members are asked to notify the Secretary of any change of address or any other inaccuracy.



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